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IT is difficult to believe that the journey of the thirty-one anti-suffrage members of the Tennessee House to Alabama, and their subsequent entertainment in that State by means of red roses and automobile tours, is anything but the third act of a musical comedy. However, the Tennessee legislators doubtless mean to be taken seriously, and their action in breaking a quorum in the House, together with the injunction restraining Governor Roberts or any State official from transmitting Tennessee's ratification of the suffrage amendment to Secretary Colby, will possibly be efficacious in postponing the operation of the amendment until after election. The principle embodied in the objection of the "antis" that the State Constitution prohibits the ratification of an amendment to the Federal Constitution by the State Legislature until it has been submitted to the people has already been raised in Ohio, and has been declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court. But court action is notoriously slow, and Election Day is less than three months away. Meanwhile the outlook for ratification in any other State is not encouraging. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Louisiana—almost the solid South—have voted against the measure. The Governors of Vermont, Connecticut, and Florida have refused to call special sessions of their Legislatures. The amendment has been tabled in North Carolina until 1921. Tennessee was about the last hope for next November, and though the indomitable suffrage leaders have not given up, apparently Tennessee is not eager for the honor of being the thirty-sixth and deciding State. The fight that began in 1848 with the calling of the first Woman's Rights Convention is not over yet. The Suffragists must surely have learned patience by this time, though in striving to establish in America so elementary a principle of democracy as political equality irrespective of sex, patience can no longer be regarded as a virtue, but as a shameful necessity.

AS usual the public is left, floundering in a welter of contradictory reports, at the mercy of war offices, news agencies, and propaganda bureaus which will not or dare not or cannot give the truth about Russia and Poland. The Polish war office at Warsaw has been driving the Russians back all along the front; the Soviet mission at London has been driving the Poles back at every point; the military expert attached to the Soviet Bureau at New York described last week's withdrawal of Russian troops from Warsaw as a "strategic retreat" calculated to draw the Polish forces out from the defended limits of the city; and where in all this is the truth to be found? Is the routing of the Reds another vision created by the will to believe that dominates the minds of the statesmen and journalists of Europe? Or is the drive against Warsaw really thwarted and the fear of a Red Poland finally dispelled? Only the passing of days will let us hear the truth, but we should scrutinize the reports with a skeptical eye. Meanwhile American policy seems to be hanging on the tough though slender thread of Mr. Wilson's obstinacy. If Paul Hanna is right in his statement in the New York *Call* that the recent "Colby" note on American policy was opposed by the entire staff of the Department of State, including Mr. Colby himself, the American people are being committed to a humiliating and shameful policy by the unsupported decision of an irresponsible autocrat.

IT is necessary for the official propaganda of the Allies to demonstrate that the present plight of Poland is due to a deliberate policy of assault and conquest planned long in advance by the Soviet Government. Thus the correspondent of the Associated Press, cabling from Warsaw on July 22, reported that "the plans of the Russian Soviet Government for controlling Poland's population in connection with the offensive aimed at conquering the Polish Republic were made more than a month ago, according to Russian newspapers reaching Warsaw dated June 11." The correspondent quoted verbatim from the official *Isvestia* of Moscow for June 11 the text of detailed instructions to Soviet officials concerning the measures which they were to take "against the entire Polish population . . . for

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their complete extermination as a nation." This dispatch was printed in the New York *Sun* of July 23 and, no doubt, in many other newspapers, and must have contributed powerfully to confirm countless readers in their conviction of the essential wickedness of the Bolsheviki. It was excellent propaganda in support of the official version of the Russian march into Poland, combining evidence of predatory intent with an advance story of atrocities to come. It had the uncommon merit, moreover, of quoting a document and a date. Unfortunately for the story, however, the *Isvestia* for June 11 on file at the New York Library does not contain the document quoted in the dispatch.

ACCORDING to Representative Isaac Siegel of New York, chairman of the Reapportionment Committee of the House of Representatives, the Committee intends to take up at the next session of Congress the question of reducing the representation in the House of those States in which, in violation of the Federal Constitution, the right of citizens to vote is denied. The Fourteenth Amendment provides that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." The "basis of representation" is the number of persons necessary, under the decennial apportionment, to entitle a State to a Representative. The present "Federal ratio," as it is commonly called, based upon the census of 1910, is one member for 211,877 of population. Since, under the Fifteenth Amendment, Negroes as such cannot be disfranchised, the Southern States, which as a whole do not allow Negroes to vote, have accomplished their practical disfranchisement by imposing literacy tests which disfranchise great numbers of whites also. The question is not, accordingly, solely one affecting the Negro; it involves the right of a State which is content to allow thousands of its population to grow up illiterate to enjoy the same representation in Congress which is accorded to States which make a proper provision for education. What oligarchical government means in the South is shown by the fact that whereas one person in four votes in Indiana, the proportion in the South as a whole is one to seventeen, and in South Carolina and Mississippi one to thirty. Virginia, with a population of about 2,230,000, cast only 153,990 votes in 1916. It is to be hoped that the Reapportionment Committee will have the nerve to lay the situation wide open.

IF the London *Times* is right in its understanding regarding British intentions in Egypt, a great triumph will have been scored for unflinching loyalty to principle and a brave reliance upon national unity rather than upon violence. Throughout the war Egypt patiently endured the British protectorate, only more oppressive than the previous thirty-odd years of British occupation, in the firm faith that the winning of a war for self-determination would automatically insure the self-determination of Egypt. The armistice brought no relief; the Peace Conference paid no attention to the pleas of the Egyptian national delegation; the military methods of the British occupation took on all the aspects of atrocity that make forcible subjection invariably a horror. By means that could not have been put into effect without the solid support of the population, high and low, by a boycott of the Milner mission and a steady and for the most part peaceful resistance to British measures, the Egyptian nationalists have proved their unflinching will to be free. The British press has habitually characterized Egyptian nationalism as an unreal sentiment fostered and exploited by self-seeking agitators who meant little that they said. If the report published in the London *Times* is correct and Egypt is to be granted its independence, with minor restrictions guarding Britain's "privileged position" in the valley of the Nile and in the Suez Canal zone, the Government will have vindicated the contentions of all the nationalists and crowned the steady labor in Europe of Said Zagloul Pasha, most persistent and outspoken of Egyptian "agitators." British honor, too, will have received a restorative it much needed, and one of the most outrageous clauses of the Treaty of Versailles will have preceded the other outrageous clauses of the treaty into the diplomatic discard.

AS a government employee, public opinion and the head of his department deny the postman the right to strike. But this is not enough; Postmaster General Burleson decrees also that he may not even talk about his troubles. Eleven postal clerks, officers of the Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union, have been threatened with dismissal from the service on a charge of publishing advertisements in the newspapers appealing to the public for aid in adjusting their grievances in regard to wages and hours, and of soliciting funds for these advertisements. Resolutions were passed by the postal employees at a mass meeting in Chicago on August 8, protesting against such action and asking that Congress create a Civil Service Court of Appeals to insure a fair hearing in cases of disputes between Civil Service employees and department executives. It seems little enough to ask; but probably Mr. Burleson will consider it unwarrantable impudence.

IT would be a pure waste of time to discuss seriously Mr. Lloyd George's latest proposal for settling, or beginning to settle, the Irish question. No honest person believes any longer that Mr. Lloyd George really means anything that he says on any subject, or, if inadvertently he does mean it, that he may not be saying something quite the opposite a few days later. That he does not expect anything important to come of his recent deliverance is evident enough from the fact that he has gone off to Switzerland for a holiday, instead of staying at home as he should and working for peace in Ireland with all his might and main. The only thing the overwhelming majority of the Irish people want—independence—he is opposed to giving them on any terms. The only thing a very large majority of the Irish people would probably accept—self-government within the Empire akin to that which Canada or Australia now enjoys—he cannot mention without besmearing it with qualifications and exceptions and sops to Carson until no one can tell what it is really like. Meantime the Mayor of Cork, Mr. Terence MacSweeney, one of the most attractive personalities in the whole Sinn Fein contingent, has been sentenced to prison for two years for constructive treason and is on hunger

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strike; mails are being rifled of their official contents in all parts of Ireland; the boycott of Belfast is on; and the Royal Irish Constabulary are amusing themselves and helping Sinn Fein by shooting up the towns. Everyone will hope that Mr. Lloyd George may enjoy his vacation and come back a better man. He may rest assured that Sinn Fein will do all it can during his absence to plant the fear of God in his heart.

THE voting strength of the United States in the League of Nations is about twelve votes, not one, we are told by Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic vice-presidential candidate, who is reported by the Associated Press as declaring in Butte, Montana, that President Wilson "put one over" on Premier Lloyd George because the United States has the vote of Haiti and Santo Domingo, Panama, Cuba, and Central American countries. "Until last week," continued Mr. Roosevelt, "I had two of them myself, and now Secretary Daniels has them. You know I had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The fact is that I wrote Haiti's constitution myself, and if I do say it, I think it is a pretty good constitution." In this jaunty sally we have the first public admission by a high administration official of the rape of Haiti and Santo Domingo and of our proprietorship of the Central American republics. *The Nation's* recent articles by Mr. Herbert J. Seligmann on Haiti and by Mr. Lewis S. Gannett on Santo Domingo revealed some of the imperialism that has been masqued by the idealistic Wilsonian verbiage and a realistic naval censorship. In the current issue begins a series of articles by Mr. James Weldon Johnson, a veteran in the American Consular service, which bares the overthrow of an inoffensive sister republic. So President Wilson "put one over on Lloyd George"? Well, Mr. Wilson has not yet "put over" his League on the American people, although he has certainly succeeded in "putting over" the most complete sabotage of our ideals and traditions that this republic has suffered in one hundred and forty-four years of its national existence.

THE mere recital of the known facts in the cases of Haiti and Santo Domingo vs. the United States constitutes a damning indictment. Every principle painstakingly established by the makers of our history, which has given us a just pride and thrill to call American, has after especial elaboration and sublimation by President Wilson himself been scrapped, making American pretensions and good faith a mockery throughout the world. Here, at least, is an issue which the Republicans, with a highly creditable record of performance in Cuba, could make their own during the campaign. Whether they will do it, whether their own skirts are sufficiently clear of the financial mire to which the Caribbean trail leads, remains to be seen. But certainly there could be no more effective way of showing up the hollow sham embodied in the Wilson League—with its false promises of peace, self-determination, disarmament, universal justice—than by contrasting Wilsonian words about the promised world with Wilsonian deeds in a small section of it. Its inhabitants, says the President's spokesman, Mr. Roosevelt, regard Uncle Sam as a guardian and big brother. Dr. Dernburg used to tell how happy the Belgians were under German rule. Lift the censorship, Mr. Roosevelt, for transgressing which three Dominicans are now being court-martialed, and you will find that you have caused Uncle Sam to be regarded as a blackguard and a bully.

THE probable failure of the Republicans and Democrats to fuse in three of the districts which sent Socialists to the New York State Legislature last year, while in the two remaining districts—where a fusion has been arranged—the Socialist candidates were elected previously in spite of a combination against them, makes the reelection of the five ousted members almost certain. Already the Republican majority is laying plans to exclude them from the special session, which is only being called, they claim, to plague them over this same little matter of unseating Socialists. To avoid the painful necessity of a trial they hope to be able merely to ratify the action of the previous session and unseat the Socialists by resolution. The up-State districts, according to the solemn pronouncement of Senator Walters, majority leader, have been stirred to an even stronger opposition to the presence of the Socialists in the Assembly by the Polish-Russian War. Thus have world events swept aside provincialism in State politics! The whole country should keep its eyes on the proceedings in New York. The issue at stake is not the mere question of allowing five men to perform the duties of the office to which they have been elected. The issue goes even beyond the right of the people to be represented in the Legislature. It involves the very right of a political party to exist, and it must finally be fought out on that ground. If the Socialist Party is abolished as a political organization in New York State; if the people of those districts which elect Socialists are left, against their will, unrepresented; if the vote is no longer a valid weapon, what is to be the result? Let us admit frankly that the result will be direct action. With complete reliance on the most cherished traditions of American history, the disfranchised inhabitants of the unrepresented districts in New York can act on the theory that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and can decline to pay any further State taxes until the free use of the ballot is restored to them.

WHETHER the fusion against radicalism as represented by Socialists and Nonpartisan Leaguers is carried out on the wide scale that the major parties have threatened is a matter of small importance. The interesting fact is the smooth and perfect amalgam made when such fusion takes place. Those persons who are guileless enough to be lured by brazen headlines into reading the utterances of the Democratic and Republican candidates for the presidency are probably also guileless enough to be deceived by the stern denunciation of the opposing party which each of these candidates emits. It must hurt and shock such persons when the two parties, theoretically straining at each other's throats from opposite poles of principle and opinion, drown their boasted differences with such obvious ease in the face of threatened danger. The fact is, of course, that the Republican and Democratic parties have no differences to sink except in choice of candidates; and when fusion is not accomplished it is because of this one real stumbling block. If Socialists or Nonpartisan candidates win in the face of a coalition against them, they have won twice over, while if they barely lose they will be held in the minds of the public to have won the election if not the office. By their fusion the major parties admit two things: the emptiness of their protestations of hostility and difference, and the strength and popularity and vigorous difference of the party they seek to defeat.

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# Take Every Empty House!

THE Tenement House Commissioner of New York City, Mr. Frank Mann, was quoted some two weeks ago as saying that the shortage of residence apartments in the city aggregated 40,000. Mayor Hylan was reported to have said that the figure was too low and should be nearer 100,000; while Mr. Edward P. Doyle, secretary of the Mayor's Housing Conference Committee, put the shortage at 160,000. Chicago real estate men reported in June that 50,000 families in that city could not find proper living quarters, that stores and tumbledown barracks were being converted into residences, and that the situation was growing steadily worse. There are 61,000 more families in Detroit than there were three years ago, but accommodations for only 28,196 families have been built in that time. Philadelphia reports a housing shortage of 30,000. Atlanta in May had less than a dozen habitable houses to meet the demands of about one thousand families who were seeking homes, while hundreds of houseless families in Fort Worth were living in tents or portable cottages. Similar conditions are reported from Washington, Pittsburgh, Denver, Kansas City, and Los Angeles.

Everybody knows why this startling state of things has arisen and why it continues. There was practically no building for residential purposes during the war, save for a certain amount of temporary construction near munition factories and a few other war industries, and there is very little building now. New York City, which needs 28,000 new apartments annually in order to house its normal increase of population, built only about 90 houses, with 2,171 apartments, in the first seven months of the present year. In the same period 1,964 apartments were converted to non-residence uses, leaving an actual gain of only 207 apartments for the largest city in the country. According to the New York *Times*, plans for one apartment house and one dwelling were filed in the Borough of Manhattan in July, as against plans for five theaters, 115 garages, and 3 loft buildings.

Everybody knows not only that there is no building, but why there is no building. High prices of land, labor, and material in the cities have made it impossible to build at a profit unless the owner can be assured of a high rental; and rentals, thanks in part to scarcity, in part to the high cost of building, and in part to atrocious profiteering by landlords, have about reached the limit of human endurance. It is wellnigh impossible to obtain building material, for the producing industries have not revived, reserve stocks are small, and the demoralization of the railways has thrown freight transportation into chaos. The railways which cannot move coal fast enough to prevent the danger of an appalling fuel famine next winter, or which cannot get their coal cars unloaded at tidewater because barges or other vessels are not available, are in no position to handle bulky building material, and in any case could not give it priority. To all this have been added widespread disputes between contractors and labor unions as a part of the policy of the steel producers to force a nation-wide acceptance of the open shop; with the result that contracts have been canceled and would-be builders are waiting for "better times."

This, in brief, is the situation. What does it mean for the people? For one thing, it means that some hundreds of thousands of families are threatened with the loss of the apartments or houses which they now occupy, and with not even a remote prospect of finding any others. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, which "move" about the middle of May, from 50,000 to 75,000 persons were reported as under the necessity of leaving their existing quarters, with practically no houses awaiting occupants. Many were moving because the houses which they occupied had been sold, others because they could not stand an increase of from 40 to 50 per cent in rents. New York City, which has some 4,000,000 people living in apartments, moves on October 1. Of the 3,000 moving-truck concerns in the city, 1,500, it is announced, will do no family moving on moving day: they cannot be assured that apartments to which they carry goods will be vacant, they are liable to damage suits if they leave goods on the sidewalk or otherwise unprotected, and storage warehouses are packed to the roofs. Meanwhile the press reports that city marshals in the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens are making from $100 to $500 a day for serving dispossess warrants, which are being issued by the courts at the rate of from 500 to 1,000 per day.

All this spells calamity. A population without homes means not only inconvenience; it means sickness and exposure and suffering for men, women, and children; and it may mean death. Without greater forbearance and self-restraint than a houseless population has ever yet exhibited, it also means riot, disorder, and crime. What is the government doing about it? Nothing whatever as yet that can have any appreciable effect for many months to come. Governor Smith of New York has called a special session of the Legislature. Mayor Hylan of New York City has appointed a Housing Commission. There are innumerable commissions and committees elsewhere that are considering the problem. All this is admirable and praiseworthy, but it will be winter before any remedial legislation can possibly be enacted, and it will be spring and summer and next fall before the houses which are being talked about will be ready for occupancy. Meantime, the country is short a million houses or apartments, and the day of crisis is at hand.

There is one thing that should be done at once in every large city in which the housing problem is acute. That is to take possession of every unoccupied house, or building, or apartment that is fit or that can be made fit for human habitation, and make it available for the people who need homes. There are hundreds of houses in every large city that are unoccupied. Some of them have been unoccupied for years, as their boarded doors and windows testify. Some are the superfluous houses of the superfluous rich; some are the town houses of well-to-do owners who pass all of the year in the country or abroad. There are stores and shops and lofts which are vacant, in which families could be housed. In a crisis such as now confronts us, no man has a moral right to close the doors of a building which he does not use; and if he will not rent at a fair rate, the municipal government should not hesitate to take possession, fix a fair rental, and let the people in. There are, in addition, houses which are unoccupied because they no longer meet the requirements of the tenement house laws—from 21,000 to 33,000 of them, it is reported, in New York City alone. Beyond question, many of these could be made habitable at

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small expense, and that expense the city should assume for the time being. It will need a robust Mayor and city government thus to take the law into their own hands; but the people would support them. The crisis is too acute and too near to wait for slow and formal processes. The emergency is as great, and calls for as prompt and energetic action, as any that could arise out of a war. Let every empty house be opened for the people who will have no homes.

## The New War Drive

THE drive for a new war is on. Let no American who believes in peace or loves humanity underestimate the intention or the strength of the forces that have been loosed by the Wilson-Colby note to the Italian Ambassador, announcing the Administration's purpose not merely to harass but, if possible, to destroy the Russian Government. The note was precisely what a powerful element of sordid, selfish, and relentless interests in this country had been waiting for, and a pack of editors, special writers, and opinion-makers have already begun to bay noisily for American participation in a new international holocaust. We mentioned last week the assertion of a military critic that our war with Germany would be fruitless unless followed by another against Russia. Now comes Dr. Frank Crane, who ought to know better, and declares in regard to the Russian Government: "Sooner or later, unless it falls to pieces from its own rottenness, it must be faced and fought by the civilized nations. We can keep out of this row no more than we could keep out of the war with Germany."

Now it may be said that this is mere rhetoric; that the public is disillusioned in regard to European conditions and will not give, either of money or men, for another burnt offering on the altar of big business, special privilege, and world imperialism. But, after our experience in 1917-1918 with a censorship and a gigantic government-directed propaganda, nobody knows what can be done. For three years the seed has been planted through systematic suppression and misrepresentation of the facts in regard to the most interesting political experiment of modern times. The cartoonists have already distorted our late allies into hairy cave men and apes, and hundreds of editors are ready to prove them ten-fold more dangerous and inhuman than the Germans. The last was a holy war; the next would be a holy of holies.

Nor must it be forgotten that we are still in a state of war and Mr. Wilson can of his own volition revive the old machinery in so far as funds permit. "To the full extent of the constitutional power confided in the Executive every measure that can be legally taken will be adopted to render effectual the position of this country," said Secretary Colby to a Polish-American delegation. But Mr. Wilson did not let his "constitutional power" limit him unduly in his last war, and there is no reason to believe that he would in another. "The attitude of this Government can only be the attitude of its people," Mr. Colby continued, "and you, as American citizens, have the power to determine the trend and the weight of American public opinion." Perhaps so, now; but public opinion is easily superseded by government-made thought and national hysteria.

While there is still time, therefore, let every American who loves his country and humanity make his opposition as plain to Mr. Wilson as British labor has made its attitude to Mr. Lloyd George, which action Mr. Christensen, the Farmer-Labor Party's candidate for President, has well described as "the foundation for a real World League of Labor by setting the glorious example of labor's power to veto war." Let us refuse to make or move a pound of war supplies or give a cent of money. Let us rather fill the jails from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, until their doors burst from overcrowding. For concurrence in Mr. Wilson's latest madness would not merely loose the dogs of war; it would unchain the jackals that would devour mankind.

## A New England Wayside

THE mind disturbed by a world in change and tumult should seek these roads. They wind gently among the hills and are very quiet. Once in an hour you meet a team or a harmless, necessary Ford, and, now and then, you pass a farmhouse hidden among maples and apple trees. But if your soul is wounded by the search for an absolute that does not exist, turn your eyes to the roadside itself and consider the frail, indomitable flowers. The yarrow is everywhere. Its golden centers are faint among the tiny, white petals and, closely regarded, this tough weed is a thing of beauty. The shy bluebells tremble on their feathery stems; the buttercups sway and flash. Nearer the ground the heal-all has something of the hieratic, like a small, winged column, and puts to shame the lazy pertness of the black-eyed Susan. Here and there, as the road grows remoter, you meet the slim and fiery wood-lily and the reserved and delicate blue vervain. Clusters of waxy immortelles show their silvery leaves, and, lifting your eyes, you see the great, velvety flowers of the sumac. There are purple asters and innumerable ferns; the fierce thistle has a crown-like, lilac flower and already, as all these fade and even the daisies begin to look a little ragged, the golden-rod is lifting the glow of its widespread splendor.

The fading of these wayside flowers has in it nothing mournful. Nor does it pain the heart to see the plow pass over some bank which they once crowded with their many-colored heads. Summer will bring them back here or a little farther on. The place of their growing, the order of their grouping—these are but negligible and passing things. The flowers remain; the flowers return. There is a loyalty and steadfastness in life itself that triumphs over chance and change. Some of the flowers are, like ourselves, but immigrants from other continents. Yet, like ourselves, they are undaunted by that great transition and have established here their enduring home. Space irks and diminishes them as little as time. Within the framework of nature as seen by man they are eternal. It is they that might easily have given Plato his notion of archetypal ideas in an intelligible world, even as they gave Wordsworth the thoughts that lie too deep for tears. The lily may withdraw a little deeper into the woods or the bluebells in this meadow appear more thickly than in one higher up the slopes. Both may thrive better in their new abodes. Or, failing that, they may return and the bluebell quiver once more among the oats. These things are trivial while the flowers remain.

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If we could use this attitude of natural faith and piety higher in the scale of existence, we should be less troubled and far less absurd. So long as life remains, beautiful, multiform, steadfast, enduring—why are we so angry and bloodthirsty over its temporal adjustments and transformations? The lilies and the vervain are aristocrats. They love seclusion and aloofness. But the yarrow and the daisies are innumerable and their equal groups look quite like communistic settlements. Yet these habits do not make the petals of the vervain less blue or the leaves of the yarrow less aromatic. The essential qualities of both remain. And it is these essential qualities, which we accept exactly as they are, that make the flowers lovely and the sight of them healing to the mind. We do not chide the thistle for its thorns nor the snapdragon for the quaintness of its blossoms. Only when we come to forms of life far more beautiful, intricate, and venerable do we argue hotly and persecute because they will not conform to ideals which we have made up, as children say, out of our own heads. We need more piety toward life itself, whose beauty and whose meaning transcend both decay and change.

## Catalogues for Reading

NOT all the romance of trade lies in selling. It must be fun enough, of course, to make a fortune out of stocks that rise on the Exchange; the annals of small business are rarely short or simple; peddlers are proverbially fascinating; and the dispatching of cargoes to distant coasts is supreme adventure. Selling is well enough. But there is the fun of buying, too—and, more particularly, there is the fun of looking at pictures of things which may be bought. There is the customers' catalogue, with its cuts and specifications and prices. Man's imagination being what it is, merchants suffer no disadvantage when the people whom they address live continents away. Indeed, they had better address a distant audience, if they can do so with pictures. It is a rare and wantless man who can resist the image of a commodity once it is zinc-etched or steel-engraved or woodcut. For all we know, the Phœnicians, those earnest traders of a long-gone day, may have circularized the shores of the Mediterranean weeks or months before their sails flashed signal from the dark horizon that they themselves were coming.

Who can calculate the importance of that thick, thumbed, biblically-printed volume, the mail-order catalogue, in America's culture? If the books we read passionately are the books that control us, then we must acknowledge our dependence on Chicago, miscellaneous genie and magical distributor on the plains. Her catalogues have kept no one knows how many farmer's families in conversation between supper and bedtime, have whiled away no one can guess how many Sunday afternoons for boys and girls or lonely men in shirt sleeves after the Sunday paper. In the bosom of the family, around the lamp, there have been big things to look at—buggies, with shafts detached and pointing towards the top of the page, harness for noble white teams, motorcycles, tractors, brass beds, hall-trees, front gates, mail boxes, washing machines, fleece-lined overcoats, horizontal engines —and small things to order: screw drivers, can openers, underwear, overshoes, writing paper, baking powder, and toothpicks. There have been hitches in the correspondence, but then eventually the box has come, and the buyers' province of fun has at last been properly and fully entered.

Or consider those other unconscious wonder-workers—auction lists of foreign fruits received in port and announced for sale. The buyer whose business sends him to wharf or salesroom with such a compendium in hand is truly enviable, for his business is all with pictures, and momentarily he is a child again. Trade takes on undeniable romance; quaint, ingenuous symbols make the world at once larger and smaller, at once closer and farther away. A whiff of Italy came magically along the other day, for instance, in a tall, gray "Catalogue of Maiori and Sorrento Lemons, Ex Steamship Canopic, Landing at Pier 61, North River, to be sold at auction." Inside was no discussion of anything—only a hundred or so reproductions of trade marks that told old-fashioned tales. The "Salvatore" lemon bore a lamb and a hare on its wrapper, the "Rosina di Creszenzo" a small, smart donkey, the "Dandy Owl" a bird in waistcoat and top hat, the "Poodle Dog" a poodle with pipe in mouth, cane in hand, and a basket of lemons on his back. There were fine ladies, of course, in impossible skirts and hats; there were Paul and Virginia; there was Pan; there were lovers in the rye; there were priests, and soldiers, and saints, and Virgins; there was Harlequin crossing his legs and standing on tiptoe; there was an ordinary kind of kiss called "Amore Moderno"; and there was a short, plump, gesturing Uncle Sam. Who says that trade has not its glories, too?

## The Shop Committee

ONE of the first developments in the United States involving the principle of employee representation was that called the "Rockefeller Plan," adopted by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, after the unsuccessful strike of miners in 1913. This strike was a bitter and bloody one, but the company was not ready to prevent the recurrence of such trouble by recognizing organized labor and seeking its assistance in curbing the rule of local managers. It therefore installed what came to be known as a "company union," that is, a system of grievance and adjustment committees elected by and from among its own employees alone, without regard to their union affiliation. The leaders of the unions thought they recognized in the plan a design to forestall the growth of organized labor, and have been indefatigable in pointing out its defects. To them any new "employee representation" scheme savors of oil, and automatically arouses their resistance.

For some time the matter rested there, but during the war a new quarter was heard from. In England workmen could not negotiate in the ordinary way, because the national officials had tied their hands by understandings with the Government, and the Munitions act forbade strikes. Furthermore, the workers in any one shop found it difficult to exert a unified pressure, because they were likely to belong to half a dozen separate craft or occupational unions, each with a highly centralized system of negotiation.

Nevertheless, each of these unions was represented in the shop by a "shop steward"—sometimes elected by the local men, sometimes appointed from above. His duties had been largely nominal—for instance, to see that every member of his union in the shop had paid his dues. Now, however, the shop stewards stepped in to fill the breach. They

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formed shop committees representing the various crafts, and began to negotiate directly with individual employers, and to call strikes. Unofficial shop stewards were elected for this purpose in many localities. The practice spread and developed into a "movement" with a nebulous philosophy. Among the ideas of its adherents were the old ones of industrial unionism and direct action in the form of general strikes, coupled with the new ones of participating in the management of the shop and workers' control in the industry as advocated by the National Guildsmen. Here was a development of the shop committee which, though it was as vehemently condemned by the officials of the unions as the Rockefeller plan, arose from the left of the labor movement rather than from the right of the employers.

Progressive employers and industrial engineers saw in this new movement something which might be molded to their special purposes. They were interested, not in contending with unions, but in increasing productivity. Experience had shown that the rock upon which many attempts at improved management had foundered was the indifference or active opposition of the worker. If they could interest him in production, even at the cost of granting him some share in management, so much the better. Furthermore, they preferred dealing with the representatives of their own workmen about practical problems to allowing discontent to simmer until they were forced to deal with representatives of a national union about issues which easily became converted into abstract principles.

It was in this form that the shop committee movement came back to our shores during the war. The National War Labor Board and the United States Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board both installed, in accordance with their own models, shop committees to localize disputes and deal with questions that normally arise between employer and employee from day to day. In some cases these committees were bodies to establish piece rates by joint negotiation. In all, however, they were created with the consent of the unions, and had no jurisdiction which would interfere with that of the national union officials. During the war shop committees, each representing a number of crafts with separate national organizations, were installed in some of the arsenals and navy yards, in ship yards, and in many munition plants. Here the movement came neither from radical workers nor conservative employers, but from experts sincerely interested in increased production and in the best methods of labor adjustment.

Each of these plans, however, had results not anticipated by its founders. The company union as a substitute for national unions has been adopted by a number of large corporations during the last two years—notably by the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Inland Steel Company, and the International Harvester Company. In many of these cases, when the employer had no dealings with a powerful national union, the objections urged against the Rockefeller plan by labor officials proved to be well founded. The committees were not really representative of the wishes of the men, but were packed with petty bosses and foremen. They lacked the courage or the independence to demand major concessions such as a shortening of the workday or a general increase in pay. The superiority of an independent union organization became so obvious that the agitation for it was carried on more efficiently by the company union itself than it could have been by a dozen walking delegates. The steel strike was actually strongest in many of the plants which had installed employee representation.

The British shop steward movement, because it was at odds with the national labor organizations, did not become effective except as a protest against extraordinary conditions. Its larger ambitions are obliged to await the further trend toward industrial unionism, to be accomplished by the slow process of amalgamation and federation in the "regular" trade union movement.

In America, many of the unauthorized strikes have arisen from shop committees organized merely as instruments of local adjustment by the Government or by employers. Here the British conditions which gave rise to the shop steward movement were in effect duplicated. The national union officers were incapable, for one reason or another, of securing relief to offset the rapidly rising cost of living; so the rank and file took matters in their own hands, regardless of agreements, and naturally turned for leaders to the shop representatives. The inferences to be drawn from these facts seem to be:

1. Both employers and employees will be disappointed in the results of shop committees adopted as a substitute for, or unconnected with, national unions. The labor movement as a whole, however, has little to fear from them in the long run.

2. The simultaneous existence in any establishment of the shop committee and the conservative, national craft union creates an unstable equilibrium, which is likely to result in the shelving of one or the other.

This leads to a question: what is the status of the shop committee connected with an industrial union rather than with a number of craft unions? We may find one answer in the clothing industry. Here the shop form of organization was natural, because there were an extraordinary number of employers averaging only a few employees apiece. And the successful unions have been industrial in form from the first—that is, they included all crafts and all shops of the main clothing trades. Here the shop committee, instead of an element of weakness to the national union, is one of its main sources of strength. The shop chairman, who is a union official, for years has been the first point at which adjustments of grievances are sought, and he is a recognized part of the conciliation machinery which reaches above him, through various agencies, to the "impartial chairman."

The final conclusion may well be, therefore, that the proper environment for the shop committee is an intimate connection with a national industrial union. There it exercises the function of expressing the workers' will and aspirations and at the same time creates the possibility of satisfying the engineer's desire for better organization of production. But those used to labor negotiation and management in the ordinary sense must, in dealing with a union of this sort, revise some of their practices. They must abandon the fixed, long-term trade agreement and accept instead a continuous machinery of adjustment, flexible in the extreme. They must be prepared really to entertain a substantial and growing share of control over production on the part of labor. They must, in other words, admit to industry a vital force which substitutes for the unorganized and restless employee, or for the conservative union protecting him in a negative manner, a powerful instrument for making effective his normal tendency to assume control of the industrial system.

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# Self-Determining Haiti

## I. THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

TO know the reasons for the present political situation in Haiti, to understand why the United States landed and has for five years maintained military forces in that country, why some three thousand Haitian men, women, and children have been shot down by American rifles and machine guns, it is necessary, among other things, to know that the National City Bank of New York is very much interested in Haiti. It is necessary to know that the National City Bank controls the National Bank of Haiti and is the depository for all of the Haitian national funds that are being collected by American officials, and that Mr. R. L. Farnham, vice-president of the National City Bank, is virtually the representative of the State Department in matters relating to the island republic. Most Americans have the opinion—if they have any opinion at all on the subject—that the United States was forced, on purely humane grounds, to intervene in the black republic because of the tragic coup d'etat which resulted in the overthrow and death of President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam and the execution of the political prisoners confined at Port-au-Prince, July 27-28, 1915; and that this government has been compelled to keep a military force in Haiti since that time to pacify the country and maintain order.

The fact is that for nearly a year before forcible intervention on the part of the United States this government was seeking to compel Haiti to submit to "peaceable" intervention. Toward the close of 1914 the United States notified the government of Haiti that it was disposed to recognize the newly-elected president, Theodore Davilmar, as soon as a Haitian commission would sign at Washington "satisfactory protocols" relative to a convention with the United States on the model of the Dominican-American Convention. On December 15, 1914, the Haitian government, through its Secretary of Foreign Affairs, replied: "The Government of the Republic of Haiti would consider itself lax in its duty to the United States and to itself if it allowed the least doubt to exist of its irrevocable intention not to accept any control of the administration of Haitian affairs by a foreign Power." On December 19, the United States, through its legation at Port-au-Prince, replied, that in expressing its willingness to do in Haiti what had been done in Santo Domingo it "was actuated entirely by a disinterested desire to give assistance."

Two months later, the Theodore government was overthrown by a revolution and Vilbrun Guillaume was elected president. Immediately afterwards there arrived at Port-au-Prince an American commission from Washington—the Ford mission. The commissioners were received at the National Palace and attempted to take up the discussion of the convention that had been broken off in December, 1914. However, they lacked full powers and no negotiations were entered into. After several days, the Ford mission sailed for the United States. But soon after, in May, the United States sent to Haiti Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr., with the title Envoy Extraordinary, on a special mission to apprise the Haitian government that the Guillaume administration would not be recognized by the American government unless Haiti accepted and signed the project of a convention which he was authorized to present. After examining the project the Haitian government submitted to the American commission a counter-project, formulating the conditions under which it would be possible to accept the assistance of the United States. To this counter-project Mr. Fuller proposed certain modifications, some of which were accepted by the Haitian government. On June 5, 1915, Mr. Fuller acknowledged the receipt of the Haitian communication regarding these modifications, and sailed from Port-au-Prince.

Before any further discussion of the Fuller project between the two governments, political incidents in Haiti led rapidly to the events of July 27 and 28. On July 27 President Guillaume fled to the French Legation, and on the same day took place a massacre of the political prisoners in the prison at Port-au-Prince. On the morning of July 28 President Guillaume was forcibly taken from French Legation and killed. On the afternoon of July 28 an American man-of-war dropped anchor in the harbor of Port-au-Prince and landed American forces. It should be borne in mind that through all of this the life of not a single American citizen had been taken or jeopardized.

The overthrow of Guillaume and its attending consequences did not constitute the cause of American intervention in Haiti, but merely furnished the awaited opportunity. Since July 28, 1915, American military forces have been in control of Haiti. These forces have been increased until there are now somewhere near three thousand Americans under arms in the republic. From the very first, the attitude of the Occupation has been that it was dealing with a conquered territory. Haitian forces were disarmed, military posts and barracks were occupied, and the National Palace was taken as headquarters for the Occupation. After selecting a new and acceptable president for the country, steps were at once taken to compel the Haitian government to sign a convention in which it virtually foreswore its independence. This was accomplished by September 16, 1915; and although the terms of this convention provided for the administration of the Haitian customs by American civilian officials, all the principal custom houses of the country had been seized by military force and placed in charge of American Marine officers before the end of August. The disposition of the funds collected in duties from the time of the military seizure of the custom houses to the time of their administration by civilian officials is still a question concerning which the established censorship in Haiti allows no discussion.

It is interesting to note the wide difference between the convention which Haiti was forced to sign and the convention which was in course of diplomatic negotiation at the moment of intervention. The Fuller convention asked little of Haiti and gave something, the Occupation convention demands everything of Haiti and gives nothing. The Occupation convention is really the same convention which the Haitian government peremptorily refused to discuss in

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December, 1914, except that in addition to American control of Haitian finances it also provides for American control of the Haitian military forces. The Fuller convention contained neither of these provisions. When the United States found itself in a position to take what it had not even dared to ask, it used brute force and took it. But even a convention which practically deprived Haiti of its independence was found not wholly adequate for the accomplishment of all that was contemplated. The Haitian constitution still offered some embarrassments, so it was decided that Haiti must have a new constitution. It was drafted and presented to the Haitian assembly for adoption. The assembly balked —chiefly at the article in the proposed document removing the constitutional disability which prevented aliens from owning land in Haiti. Haiti had long considered the denial of this right to aliens as her main bulwark against overwhelming economic exploitation; and it must be admitted that she had better reasons than the several states of the United States that have similar provisions.

The balking of the assembly resulted in its being dissolved by actual military force and the locking of doors of the Chamber. There has been no Haitian legislative body since. The desired constitution was submitted to a plebiscite by a decree of the President, although such a method of constitutional revision was clearly unconstitutional. Under the circumstances of the Occupation the plebiscite was, of course, almost unanimous for the desired change, and the new constitution was promulgated on June 18, 1918. Thus Haiti was given a new constitution by a flagrantly unconstitutional method. The new document contains several fundamental changes and includes a "Special Article" which declares:

> All the acts of the Government of the United States during its military Occupation in Haiti are ratified and confirmed.
>
> No Haitian shall be liable to civil or criminal prosecution for any act done by order of the Occupation or under its authority.
>
> The acts of the courts martial of the Occupation, without, however, infringing on the right to pardon, shall not be subject to revision.
>
> The acts of the Executive Power (the President) up to the promulgation of the present constitution are likewise ratified and confirmed.

The above is the chronological order of the principal steps by which the independence of a neighboring republic has been taken away, the people placed under foreign military domination from which they have no appeal, and exposed to foreign economic exploitation against which they are defenseless. All of this has been done in the name of the Government of the United States; however, without any act by Congress and without any knowledge of the American people.

The law by which Haiti is ruled today is martial law dispensed by Americans. There is a form of Haitian civil government, but it is entirely dominated by the military Occupation. President Dartiguenave, bitterly rebellious at heart as is every good Haitian, confessed to me the powerlessness of himself and his cabinet. He told me that the American authorities give no heed to recommendations made by him or his officers; that they would not even discuss matters about which the Haitian officials have superior knowledge. The provisions of both the old and the new constitutions are ignored in that there is no Haitian legislative body, and there has been none since the dissolution of the assembly in April, 1916. In its stead there is a Council of State composed of twenty-one members appointed by the president, which functions effectively only when carrying out the will of the Occupation. Indeed the Occupation often overrides the civil courts. A prisoner brought before the proper court, exonerated, and discharged, is, nevertheless, frequently held by the military. All government funds are collected by the Occupation and are dispensed at its will and pleasure. The greater part of these funds is expended for the maintenance of the military forces. There is the strictest censorship of the press. No Haitian newspaper is allowed to publish anything in criticism of the Occupation or the Haitian government. Each newspaper in Haiti received an order to that effect from the Occupation, *and the same order carried the injunction not to print the order*. Nothing that might reflect upon the Occupation administration in Haiti is allowed to reach the newspapers of the United States.

The Haitian people justly complain that not only is the convention inimical to the best interests of their country, but that the convention, such as it is, is not being carried out in accordance with the letter, nor in accordance with the spirit in which they were led to believe it would be carried out. Except one, all of the obligations in the convention which the United States undertakes in favor of Haiti are contained in the first article of that document, the other fourteen articles being made up substantially of obligations to the United States assumed by Haiti. But nowhere in those fourteen articles is there anything to indicate that Haiti would be subjected to military domination. In Article I the United States promises to "aid the Haitian government in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis." And the whole convention and, especially, the protestations of the United States before the signing of the instrument can be construed only to mean that that aid would be extended through the supervision of civilian officials.

The one promise of the United States to Haiti not contained in the first article of the convention is that clause of Article XIV which says, "and, should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." It is the extreme of irony that this clause which the Haitians had a right to interpret as a guarantee to them against foreign invasion should first of all be invoked against the Haitian people themselves, and offer the only peg on which any pretense to a right of military domination can be hung.

There are several distinct forces—financial, military, bureaucratic—at work in Haiti which, tending to aggravate the conditions they themselves have created, are largely self-perpetuating. The most sinister of these, the financial engulfment of Haiti by the National City Bank of New York, already alluded to, will be discussed in detail in a subsequent article. The military Occupation has made and continues to make military Occupation necessary. The justification given is that it is necessary for the pacification of the country. Pacification would never have been necessary had not American policies been filled with so many stupid and brutal blunders; and it will never be effective so long as "pacification" means merely the hunting of ragged Haitians in the hills with machine guns.

Then there is the force which the several hundred Ameri-

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can civilian place-holders constitute. They have found in Haiti the veritable promised land of "jobs for deserving democrats" and naturally do not wish to see the present status discontinued. Most of these deserving democrats are Southerners. The head of the customs service of Haiti was a clerk of one of the parishes of Louisiana. Second in charge of the customs service of Haiti is a man who was Deputy Collector of Customs at Pascagoula, Mississippi [population, 3,379, 1910 Census]. The Superintendent of Public Instruction was a school teacher in Louisiana—a State which has not good schools even for white children; the financial advisor, Mr. McIlhenny, is also from Louisiana.

Many of the Occupation officers are in the same category with the civilian place-holders. These men have taken their wives and families to Haiti. Those at Port-au-Prince live in beautiful villas. Families that could not keep a hired girl in the United States have a half-dozen servants. They ride in automobiles—not their own. Every American head of a department in Haiti has an automobile furnished at the expense of the Haitian Government, whereas members of the Haitian cabinet, who are theoretically above them, have no such convenience or luxury. While I was there, the President himself was obliged to borrow an automobile from the Occupation for a trip through the interior. The Louisiana school-teacher Superintendent of Instruction has an automobile furnished at government expense, whereas the Haitian Minister of Public Instruction, his supposed superior officer, has none. These automobiles seem to be chiefly employed in giving the women and children an airing each afternoon. It must be amusing, when it is not maddening to the Haitians, to see with what disdainful air these people look upon them as they ride by.

The platform adopted by the Democratic party at San Francisco said of the Wilson policy in Mexico:

> The Administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a government of her own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils.

Haiti has never been so distracted in its councils as Mexico. And even in its moments of greatest distraction it never slaughtered an American citizen, it never molested an American woman, it never injured a dollar's worth of American property. And yet, the Administration whose lofty purpose was proclaimed as above—with less justification than Austria's invasion of Serbia, or Germany's rape of Belgium, without warrant other than the doctrine that "might makes right," has conquered Haiti. It has done this through the very period when, in the words of its chief spokesman, our sons were laying down their lives overseas "for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations." By command of the author of "pitiless publicity" and originator of "open covenants openly arrived at," it has enforced by the bayonet a covenant whose secret has been well guarded by a rigid censorship from the American nation, and kept a people enslaved by the military tyranny which it was his avowed purpose to destroy throughout the world.

*The second article of the series by James Weldon Johnson, What the United States Has Accomplished in Haiti, will appear in the next issue, dated September 4.*

# The Soviet Domestic Program

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

*Moscow, July 7*

WHAT part of the soviet program has then been carried out? Despite the pressure of war, I should say on the whole, that the greater part of its socialist program has been at any rate sketched in. And remember, in this connection, that the marvel remains for all of us that even this "blocking in" has been accomplished with civil war and several foreign wars and a deadly blockade to occupy public attention. The middle class has been pretty well abolished—at least the old middle and upper classes. A true democracy of material condition, even if it is one of poverty, has been enforced. There are no great differences in dress or standards of living. Everybody is always more or less shabby; everybody always more or less hungry. Chicherin wears a baggy old suit, mercifully of a neutral snuff color; but some of the clerks in the Foreign Office far outshine their chief in their appearance. As to the democracy of food, that strikes me a bit nearer the belt-line. But if commissars can survive on a mess of soggy macaroni, we visitors, who get a much better *pyok*, should manage to do likewise. I think this matter of a common standard of living is not to be exaggerated. It makes for true brotherhood. And there exists here a real contempt for those who lay such a terrific emphasis on externals.

One hears, of course, everywhere of the establishment of a new middle class—that of the soviet officials. There are said to be more than 400,000 of them in the country. Some of them may be seen, truly, going off to the country over Sunday, or riding about in rather shabby cabs drawn by soviet horses. On the other hand, as far as wealth and luxury go among the higher officials, I can honestly say that I have as yet seen none of it, and I have visited in the homes of some of them. Naturally, with ability and willingness to accomplish things, comes authority in the community. That kind of a bourgeoisie is gradually being formed. How any state is to escape such a governing class, based on hard work, I find it difficult to see.

In the matter of nationalization, the revolutionary government has been fairly successful. Practically all the factories, transportation systems, food-getting, and food-producing systems, the health protection and educational systems have been taken over by the state. It does not change the fact to say that most of these systems at the present time are functioning inadequately, and that the food-distributing system is being supplemented by "bagmen," or *Mishoshchnik*, and petty speculators. I think these things will only be temporary, and will be improved as the government machinery is perfected when the pressure of war is over. Certainly in some directions, especially in the matter of health protection for mothers, infants, and children, and in the matter of education, the Soviet Government has gone far beyond all possible expectations.

Extreme centralization may account for a good deal of inefficiency. At any rate one hears that complaint on all sides, from the anarchists, the social-revolutionaries, both left and right, and the Mensheviks and bourgeois. Doubtless the tendency has been fostered by circumstance rather than by conscious will. During 1917 and the beginning of 1918 the great drop in the productivity of Russian factories

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occurred, and gradual disintegration of all industry was threatened. Only a strong central power has been able or could have been able to pull Russia's economic life together once more. Unity of management, government by single men as heads of great departments, was the outcome of necessity. Sverdlov, Vice-Commissar of transport, intimated as much to me when I spoke to him on the trip we made down the Volga. Perhaps the present government has gone too far in the subordination of collateral and semi-independent institutions, the trade unions and the co-operatives, to the central authority. Also it must be admitted that the soviet system, whatever it may appear to be formally, is not nearly so democratic in the manner of its election as our Congress—although I far prefer the present Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, however procured, to our conglomeration of right honorables in Washington. But again, the answer must be the same. Necessity, danger to the very existence of the state, have forced the Russians to create this dictatorship.

To sum up, I believe that with the destruction of classes and of capital, with the creation of a democratic and almost universal standard of living, with the formation of a real "serving" bureaucracy and the nationalization of industry, a practical beginning at "socialization" has been made.

Perhaps the one great failure in that regard has been the peasant. I have spent about a week in the country, travelling down the Volga River, and have had considerable opportunity to speak with the country people. The peasant has not as yet been brought into the socialist scheme of things. He has received land, and in so far as he has received land, and in some cases the implements to work it with, he supports the government. But whatever Moscow may say about the ownership of the land, the peasant believes that it belongs to him. With the exception of a few experimental farms, no real attempt at communal agriculture has been made. The peasant is better off than he ever was before; he eats better and enjoys his local soviet. He wails horribly because the government comes down on him and levies for the benefit of the cities. The Russian peasant, as does the peasant everywhere throughout Europe, feels the city man to be his enemy, an enemy who takes but does not give anything in return. If he could get manufactured articles, ploughs, shoes, clothes, he says he would gladly give to the city folk. As things are now, he goes to town and has to trot from bureau to bureau to get a nail for which he must give a speculator price, while he himself only gets fixed rates of payment for his produce. He says he wants a "serious" government, one which can supply his needs. Meanwhile, the government takes little heed of his plaints, sends officials to his village and takes a goodly share of his surplus. Sometimes these officials come at inconvenient seasons, or take more than they should; and sometimes they meet with resistance, whereupon bloodshed ensues. But on the whole the Russian peasant in the districts I visited is doing very well. There seem to be some *gubiernias*, especially in the North, where not enough wheat is produced. Here perhaps the situation is less favorable. But in a village of 5,000, such as I saw in the Samara *gubiernia*, where there were seven thousand head of cattle, besides horses and goats, and where each family had about fifteen *dessiatines* of land, to speak of hardship would be a bit ludicrous. I must say that Russia is the only country in Europe just now where the city man has the whip hand over the peasant—where the peasant is taxed to keep the city man alive until the latter can commence to produce again in a normal manner.

The fact remains, however, that no real attempt to socialize the land has as yet been made. In certain directions, by means of its power to monopolize peasant-manufactured supplies, the government can force the peasant to work in a more communal manner. But if farms were to be worked by great labor-saving machines in the western manner, the enormous population that now finds occupation on the land would be displaced. Until industrial work for this surplus can be found, it is quite useless to talk of introducing more socialistic methods of agriculture. In the meantime the Russian socialistic state must be considered as having been imposed on a small-bourgeois farming class. And in passing, it may as well be said that the wedge which Lenin tried to drive into the solid rural community by his distinction between the rich, and middle, and poor peasants has rather failed of its objective. I was in several communities where the middle peasant seemed to be the prevailing type, and the *Kulak* was still tolerated. At any rate, the destruction of the *Kulak* and middle peasant would only create a more numerous, homogeneous class of small peasants.

Much more to the point is the Soviet Government's policy of drawing the farmers closer to the city by giving them what manufactured articles are available—very little to be sure—by improving health conditions, by awakening the cultural life with theatres, music, education, and so forth. I have seen towns where they had put in electric light, where they had a moving picture theatre, reading rooms, a library, adult schools. My friend Buxton was in another village where there was a theatre and a theatrical company consisting of villagers, but stimulated by teachers sent from the city. Again the cursed war interferes with all advances in this direction. The war is a hideous blank wall against which, at the present moment, everything in Russia that is precious dashes itself to bits.

I hear all the reactionary "I told you so's" reechoing in America. But here one is quite frank in this matter. It is a question of life and death for the advanced proletariat of the cities to keep control of Russia's economic life. The peasants have their due, in perhaps greater proportion than the city folk, as far as creature comforts are concerned. But they shall not kill the social revolution, nor be the means by which Russia will relapse into capitalism so that the long and painful struggle upward to socialism will have to be gone through with again. The leaders intend to keep, for the industrial life of Russia that is to be developed in the next fifty years, the heights already won. Until the peasant becomes socialized voluntarily, he will remain a sort of neutral outsider, while the city man works out the destiny of the world.

## Contributors to This Issue

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# The Farmer Butts Back

By ARTHUR WARNER

*Bismarck, North Dakota*

IN the States of the Northwest one sees buttons in coat lapels and danglers on watch chains which bear the figure of a tired, abused, and rebellious goat. Beside the animal is the inscription: "The Goat That Can't Be Got." It is the unofficial emblem of the National Nonpartisan League. "A goat is an animal that works with his head when attacked," Governor Frazier of North Dakota is reputed to have said in explanation of the device. "That's why the Nonpartisan League adopted this animal as its emblem."

For a long time the American farmer has been a goat—at last he is beginning to butt back. In North Dakota he has perfected a butting technique that has dislodged the two old political parties and installed a farmer administration in the capital at Bismarck. The farmer's problems vary in different States, but in North Dakota he has suffered in the past particularly from the elevator companies that have underpaid him for his wheat and from the banks that have charged him from eight to nine per cent when he needed money—and that in a day when other business men could borrow at six per cent. Farmer delegations went to Bismarck repeatedly to ask for relief but got only promises, if that. On one occasion a former Governor said to a group of them: "You go home and slop the hogs, and let us run the government." "We'll go home and slop the hogs all right," answered one of the farmers, "but when we get through you won't be here."

The reply was prophetic. Organization of the Nonpartisan League was begun in 1915, in 1916 it elected its candidate for Governor, and in 1918 it came into control also of the State Legislature. Whatever the leaders may have had in mind, it is doubtful if any considerable percentage of the membership of the Nonpartisan League had state socialism as their goal in the early days. The movement had grown in part out of the older American Society of Equity, and probably the idea uppermost was a development of farmer cooperation, protected and facilitated by the powers of the State. It appeared fairly soon, however, that North Dakota had too scattered a population and too scanty resources for such a development. The farmers turned inevitably to their State government as the only machinery sufficiently powerful and comprehensive to secure results.

But although state socialism has developed in North Dakota as a working method rather than as a political theory, it is a fact that the early leaders of the Nonpartisan League came out of the Socialist Party. Townley, for instance, had been State organizer for the Socialist Party in North Dakota. Partly because of this, and partly because the new movement was seen to strike definitely against economic privilege, opposition has gone to extreme lengths and aroused a bitterness manifested against few other political movements in recent years. "Bolshevist," "I. W. W.," and "Free Lover" are among the descriptive terms applied. The League, moreover, has made a definite social cleavage as well as a political division. Members of the new movement are generally ostracized by the "society" of the cities. In Bismarck the Nonpartisan League has one hotel—the best, fortunately—while the opposition has another. Feeling runs so high that the newsstand in the League hotel does not sell the only daily paper printed in Bismarck because it is a supporter of what Leaguers call the Poison Ivas—the Independent Voters' Association, which is fighting the Nonpartisans for the control of the Republican machinery. Indeed, this social war on League members is thought to be one reason why several men elected to office by the farmers in 1918 later turned against them. The case is cited of one in particular who married an Eastern girl after his selection for office. Her natural surprise and mortification at finding herself snubbed by Bismarck "society" is thought to have been an influence in turning her husband against the League.

Of course this very bitterness against the League has developed among those that stick by it a genuinely religious fervor. No other political organization in the world, it is safe to say, has a membership of 200,000 persons the regular dues of whom are $18 apiece per year; while at a recent meeting to raise campaign funds 200 out of 1,000 farmers present pledged $100 each. It is not surprising that a movement that means so much to its adherents has in five years permeated twelve States, having a powerful organization in the two Dakotas and Minnesota; a substantial membership in Nebraska, Wisconsin, Colorado, Montana, Washington, and Idaho; and a good start in Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. It controls the State administration of North Dakota, and, according to recent figures, had a total of 221 representatives in the legislatures of the two Dakotas, Minnesota, Montana, and Idaho.

It is not to be denied that the Nonpartisan League is a class movement, since its membership is limited to persons who make their living by farming. It has raised a direct issue between town and country, and it is not surprising that the urban population, finding itself excluded from the League, should generally oppose the organization on the supposition, right or wrong, that the Nonpartisans will use political power, where acquired, to benefit the farmer at the expense of the city dweller. This aspect is one of the greatest weaknesses of the League, as it appears to an outsider, and there is, at this moment, a plan under discussion for taking sympathetic townsmen into the organization. The difficulties surrounding the inception of the League doubtless led rightly to limiting the movement at that time to farmers, but such restriction seems now to be a source of weakness rather than strength.

This issue between town and country has created a peculiar situation in respect to woman suffrage. The League, as one would expect of a progressive organization, has endorsed woman suffrage, but it has not yet admitted the farmer's wife to its membership. Moreover, in North Dakota, at least, it has not been keen to see the arrival of equal suffrage, not because of disbelief in the principle but because of fear that a large feminine vote will be cast in the towns, where opposition to the farmers' program is strong, whereas the women of the country will be too busy, or find it too inconvenient, to go to the polls in anything like relative strength.

So far as organized labor is concerned, a working arrange-

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ment that brings town and country together has already been devised in the States where trade unionism is strongest. In Minnesota, for instance, trade unionists of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other industrial centers have organized politically in a body that is working in alliance with the Nonpartisan League. This question of the relation of the organized farmers to other organized workers has recently become acute because of the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party. There is a feeling in many parts of the country that farmers will with difficulty be induced to unite with organized labor because farmers' interest as employers run counter so often to those of organized employees. One does not get that impression in the Nonpartisan League strongholds of the Northwest. On the contrary one finds farmers eager to unite with organized labor; persuaded that the common interests in good transportation, in fair banking facilities, and in eliminating unnecessary middlemen's profits are more important than any actual or imaginary differences.

"Maybe some of you fellows think there's a lot of difference between you and us because we own our land," said a farmer at the Labor Party convention in Chicago. "Well, you pay your money as rent to the landlords; we pay ours as interest to the banks that hold the mortgages on our farms; the only difference between us is that you work eight hours a day for somebody else and we have the privilege of working sixteen for ourselves."

The farmers of the Nonpartisan League, at least, have a conception of economic realities and a discipline from organization that makes them ready to "go through" with labor. The hitch is in their organization. The Nonpartisan League is not a party but a movement, and it concerns itself with State and not with national politics. Its philosophy has been that it is easier to win votes by capturing the machinery of one of the old parties—it uses the Republicans in one State and the Democrats in another—than by winning voters to a new party. The idea has worked, so far as State campaigns go, but it makes a national campaign in behalf of a third party—or indeed any one party—impossible.

The Nonpartisan League must face in the immediate future the question of reorganizing so as to take part in national campaigns and make possible a federation or alliance with the Farmer-Labor Party, or in some way with organized labor. Townley is understood to be indifferent toward or opposed to such a change. But in talking with Nonpartisan Leaguers in Minnesota and North Dakota one gets definite intimation that Townley is no longer the force that he has been. There is a feeling that the League has grown to a point where control can no longer be so centralized as now. The stirrings of rank and file democracy are evident in the Nonpartisan League as elsewhere. Townley is undeniably an organizing genius, but his sagacity in determining political policies is less certain. He gives one the impression of a man of one idea: that of putting over the Nonpartisan League. And one may add that this seems to have become such an obsession that he cares more about doing it for the sake of winning than for the good results that victory may achieve.

Without much doubt the Nonpartisan League will reorganize so as to make possible direct cooperation with organized labor; either that or it will begin to break apart. Townley's position will probably affect him more than it will the League. His decision will determine whether he will lead the League further or drop behind.

# Ireland's Republican Government

By JAMES CARTY

*Wexford, Ireland*

"MR. MACNEILL," said Arthur Henderson enviously, when the British labor delegation visited Ireland six months ago, "Can you tell me what is the secret of your organization?" The delegation had seen and admired the mobility and sentiency of the machinery of Irish Republican Government, and they sought for some arcane talisman that might help to speed up the slow-moving British worker in his advance to power. Our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs answered him in two words, "The people." The government suggests, initiates, coordinates, fulfils each function that a civilized government ought to fulfil, but the people rule. It is a fact, due to circumstances, that the legislature does not, and cannot, legislate in any direction against the popular will. It will be a fact when these merely temporary circumstances have disappeared. That is hundred-per-cent democracy.

At the time of writing, Dàil Eireann exercises administrative powers over the greater part of Ireland. So far as these powers are incomplete is due, not to lack of sanction and encouragement from the people, but to the military control by England. For instance, it was discovered by the Republican Government on June 15, that a secret circular had been sent by Dublin Castle to the British police ordering them to discover "in what areas there had been a decrease in the number of cases brought before the British courts and in what areas Sinn Fein courts had been established." Three days later British cavalry commenced to scour the counties of Cork, Kerry, Sligo, Wexford, Mayo, and Clare, where Republican courts were believed to be in most frequent session. A vigorous "law and order" drive commenced. Fourteen officials of justice were seized and taken to jail. Republican police were conveying two sentenced prisoners to confinement in an automobile at Youghal, County Cork, when a patrol of British cavalry opened fire on them, rescuing the prisoners. There was a similar incident at Charleville in the same county, where a criminal was liberated by the foreign troops and a Republican officer killed. But these are the little difficulties we have to surmount, and we are surmounting them. While the British Judge Wakely was sitting in the empty courthouse at Boyle, County Roscommon, the Republican magistrates held a session outside the courthouse and gave judgment on many cases which had previously been listed for hearing before the British courts.

It is a favorite device of Ireland's enemies to represent the Republican Government as a mere front view, a futile gesture of defiance at a powerful and tolerant enemy. They say, those superior persons who always write Irish Republic between inverted commas: You tell us you are suffering from a desperate military tyranny which continually hampers your progress toward free institutions, and, in the same breath, you tell us that you have set up an almost sovereign administration. Can both statements be true? They are. The armed young men of Ireland, the Republican army, make it possible for them both to be true. On one hand the military occupation is probably the most stringent in the history of any nation; on the other An Dàil, the *de jure* government of the country since January, 1919, has become in the subsequent eighteen months the *de facto* gov-

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ernment. "Sinn Fein is effectively taking over the executive and judicial functions of government," says Sir Horace Plunket. "It has become the *de facto* government in three-quarters of Ireland and virtually possesses treaty powers."

The task that faced our administrators in January, 1919, was as stiff a task as anything in politics can be. There were no precedents to work on. Many Republicans seriously doubted if anything really constructive could be done, beyond affirming Ireland's independence and sending diplomatic envoys abroad. The dislocating and destructive elements seemed too strong for normal government. Important ministers and officials, whose personal direction was essential to the successful development of schemes, were continually being arrested on trivial pretexts. Barton, Director of Agriculture, and originator of the Land Bank, was put to stone-breaking in Portland; Blythe, Director of Trade and Industries, is under lock and key; Cosgrave, Minister for Local Government, has just emerged from Wormwood Scrubbs; the Army of Occupation have orders to shoot at sight Michael Collins, Minister of Finance. Can you have a national bond drive when twenty newspapers are suppressed for booming it and persons found with prospectuses or receipts are forthwith jailed?* Can you run a bank when troops enter casually and pocket the deposits?

Yet this uncolored narrative of "the more important recent actions of the Irish government" (from the Bulletin, propaganda organ of An Dàil) does indicate much constructive achievement under enormous difficulties:

A commission of experts has been established to inquire into all the industrial resources of Ireland and to report to the Dàil the best means of undertaking immediately the development of these resources. This commission held public session in several Irish cities and was then forcibly suppressed by the armed forces of the British Government. It has, however, continued to meet and, with the ready assistance of the people, is carrying out its investigations and the examination of expert witness successfully. . . .

A commission was appointed to provide land for agriculturists and to allocate disputed lands. It has operated with complete success and full popular sanction in many Irish counties.

For the first time there is an Irish legislature to tackle this most typical of Irish problems—the pre-republican tendency of landless men to drift into socially useless occupations or to leave Ireland altogether. Over $1,500,000 has already been loaned to buy land, either by Dàil Eireann or by the National Land Bank.

Cooperative fishing industries have been formed under the direction of the Department of Fisheries, and the rich fishing resources of Ireland are being systematically exploited.

Up to the present about $350,000 has been spent on the fisheries. Motor-boats have been purchased and selected men are studying the methods employed in the fields of Scotland and Norway.

Courts have been established which operate in twenty Irish counties. These courts have been resorted to by the vast majority of Irish litigants. The decisions promulgated are obeyed and are adequately enforced.

Unionist lawyers plead in the Republican courts. Former army men, former R. I. C. men, and English residents in this country come to them for justice, and get it. There is no discrimination of persons and no prejudice, no expensive and useless paraphernalia, no wigs and red tape to confuse and mystify the plain man. The prevention of crime is the one object of our system of justice, strange as that may seem to those who know what the objects of the British system are. Two brothers have equal rights to a piece of land, but cannot agree on the division. What is more just than to make one divide it and the other choose from his division? Who can find fault with the system that sentences a race-course welcher to six months' hard labor on a farm?

An immense scheme of reforestation has been successfully launched by the Department of Land and Agriculture. This department is also engaged in establishing a cooperative farming committee.

Under the Minister for Trade and Industries direct foreign trade with Ireland has been organized and projects are on foot to develop certain home industries and to coordinate home trade.

About $100,000 has been allocated to the consular service. Accredited consular agents are already at work in France, Italy, Germany, the United States, and the Argentine.

Under the Ministry for Local Government the Irish municipal, county, borough, and district councils are about to put into operation a scheme of local services which will meet the many needs of Irish citizens now unattended to and insure local development.

It is the young men of Ireland who have wrought these incredible changes, incredible to anyone who knew Ireland six years ago. It is they who have built up the framework of a state under the shadow of the Terror. Nowhere in the world do men so young hold such responsible positions and nowhere is such courage and creativeness put into government. They are as careless of tradition when they have struck on a right trail as Jefferson and Patrick Henry. They study Russian regional administration, American municipal management, Danish agriculture, English consumers' cooperatives. They are imitative where it is good to be imitative, and they are intensely modern and practical. Yet they remember Ireland's former statehood, and, with toreutic touch, they are grafting the idealism of the Gaels upon Irish State polity of today. They are of a different mould than the pub-runner politicians and predatory lawyers of the John Bull's Other Island period. Engineers, teachers, salesmen, railroadmen, grocers' assistants, agriculturists, doctors, and journalists are the makers of new Ireland.

Some of the chief manifestations of independentism have been mentioned. They all derive their powers quite literally from the consent of the governed. Every week the Dàil extends its orbit. It never forces the issue. It acts, not with majority sanction, but with unanimous sanction. The courts, boards, and councils to which it delegates powers figure in the lives of the people as similar institutions in all democratically-governed countries do; they are not mere window-dressing got up for purposes of advertisement and propaganda. Robert Lynd, literary editor of the London *Daily News*, says that the institution of the courts was the most important event in Ireland since the Norman conquest.

Perhaps it will be felt that no account of the Republic of Ireland is complete without a reference to the special internal problem of Ulster. A remarkable change has come there. The Derry riots, deliberately fomented by Dublin Castle and the British government, as Vice-President Griffith conclusively proved, were less a symptom of a present disease than the backwash of the dead past. Excluding Belfast the substantial majority of Ulster people are republicans, and this ultimate outpost of the British occupation will soon be republican, too. The whole truth of Irish-British relations is summed up by the *New Witness:* "The Union is broken: England can never govern Ireland again."

* The loan was for $1,250,000 and has been over-subscribed by $300,000.

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# What Has Happened to the Forty-eighters?

By SWINBURNE HALE

THE life of the "liberal" is one tragedy after another. Liberals are persons who complain that the rules are not lived up to—radicals want to change the rules or do away with them altogether. When a group of liberals set out, with admirable logic and clearly defined propaganda, to collect other liberals, they end up by finding that what they have collected are not liberals at all, but radicals, because the radical happens to be more active, crosser about abuses, and much more easily collectable.

This is precisely what has happened to the orthodox leaders of the Committee of 48, and this is the secret of their present tragedy. It was not their first tragedy, nor will it be their last. Like the Progressive tragedy of 1912, there will follow the Liberal tragedy of 1922. For the 48 experiment has demonstrated not only that radicals are more easily collectable, but that they are infinitely more numerous. It is even a question whether there *are* any liberals left in America, with the exception of the clear-thinking and precise expounders of the doctrine of abolition of economic privilege, who are now ensconced in lonely majesty of thought behind the desks at 48 headquarters. The rank and file of the 48 delegates, assembled in convention at Chicago, when they went over to Carmen's Hall to fuse with the rank and file of the Labor delegates, found that they looked like the Labor delegates, felt like them, and behaved like them. There was only one difference. Whereas the radicalism of the Labor rank and file was of a more or less standard variety, so that the polling of a cross section of the Labor delegates would have proved them substantially in accord on remedies, the radicalism of the 48ers was a varying shade, running from very mild pink to something which might almost have perturbed the Attorney General with its deep carmine. Here and there in the amalgamated convention one could still see the earnest, aspiring, and rather annoyed face of a liberal; but, by and large, there was no doubting the essential quality of radicalism—which it turned out, in the actions of the amalgamated convention, meant precisely collectivism and nothing else. That body of persons coming together from industrial centers of exploitation, farming centers of exploitation, and the general small business class of exploited people, proclaimed unmistakably that they recognized themselves as exploited, and that their fight was with the exploiters. They recognized, they stated, they impressed it upon the orthodox 48 leaders, that although they had not the slightest intention of calling themselves collectivists or communists or any kind of -ists, or showing the slightest interest in any philosophy or theory of Nicolai Lenin or Carl Marx or Nicholas Murray Butler, or anybody else who had written about collectivism from any point of view, they were none the less producing in America a perfectly American, made-in-America, doctrine of American labor, farmer, and small-business collectivism. They said unmistakably, "We want to get on toward the next development of the idea of the State, which is a state where the workers will have something to say about the work they do, the way they do it, and the way they live while they are doing it." They did not say a word about the proletarian state. Probably ninety per cent of them would have denied that there was any idea of the proletarian state in their minds. They would have called that socialism, and they were emphatically not socialists, however much collectivism there may be in the socialist doctrine. They were not socialists because they were not at all sure that they wanted to put all kinds of business in the hands of a central elected body called the government. They were not at all sure that that sort of supposed remedy would prove anything more than a substitution of one kind of despot for another. But they did know very definitely what they wanted. They expressed it this way in their platform: "The right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation." The New York *Call* is perfectly right in saying that such a program is not socialism; equally wrong are the 48 orthodox leaders in saying that such a program is guild-socialism. It is no more guild-socialism than it is syndicalism or I. W. W.-ism, which it has also been called by certain upset 48ers. It is simply the feeling that labor has got after dealing with the Steel Corporation, and the coal companies, and the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, and the Department of Justice, and the American Legion, and various mayors and Chambers of Commerce, and Committees of Public Safety, and other products of modern America, that labor is done with liberalism and with "democracy" and with following people who like uplift and who try to enforce rules which cannot be enforced. It is simply the feeling of labor that labor itself has got to have a say-so about running labor's business.

That this would be the outcome at Chicago was more than probable. But it was noticeable how definitely and completely it became the outcome at Chicago, and how definitely and completely all of those leaders who still cried the liberal cry and wept the liberal tear were quietly left in executive session at the Hotel Morrison while the rank and file climbed aboard the trolley cars and went over to join the Labor delegates in fraternal cohesion of collectivism. The first thing the amalgamated convention did officially was to declare itself, by absolutely unanimous vote, to be a new political party. When the mighty roar of ayes came up from the floor on that resolution, not even one liberal could find the courage to vote one little liberal no against that roar. There was no doubting that the rank and file there assembled *were* a new political party; and, from that moment onward, they proceeded to rend and tear any plans which had been neatly and nicely devised for their guidance toward the kingdom of heaven by their able mentors of the past.

If the Executive Committee of the Committee of 48, as now reorganized by the elimination of its radicals, succeeds in running a candidate for Congress here and there, and succeeds in 1922 in getting a Liberal Party before the people, the radicals will not be disturbed; they will not even, perhaps, be sorry. For if by any chance the Liberals should succeed in collecting liberals, and there were a few hundreds or a few thousands of them who could be ticketed and labelled so that they could be easily and immediately recognized, the radicals would at least know who they were, and would be able to be very, very careful of them.

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# Nights and Days

By JAMES RORTY

*NOCTURNE*

Elise lives over the river in the west;
I left three stars to guard her there,
While I walked happily home. My feet clock-clocked
Upon the hard wood path; the poplars strode
Straightly beside me; seeing so many stars,
I reached far up and gathered seven for her
And seven for me, and twined them curiously
Between my fingers, while I sang faint songs
Elise had taught me—things I found half-caught
Within her throat, or kissed from out her hair.
I sang them softly and a marsh-bird blew
A muted, breathy whistle. So I walked
Until the wood road ended, and I came
Into the open meadow, and was seen
By all the myriad-winking fields of heaven
Afoot upon the road, singing, in my arms
Great peonies and roses from her breast.
Arose a starry whispering; I waved
A gossip hand and cried, "Be friendly still;
Elise and I shall travel there one day
When we are old."

*RAINY NIGHT*

Strange things happen at night
In the rain.
It was black
When I walked home; there were
No watchmen in the sky; the lamps
Of the fireflies smouldered and went out.
The streaming fingers of the rain
Stroked, stroked, stroked the suffering grass;
The bulbous shapes
Of trees sprang up to threaten me; but I was caught
As in a web of rain, and could not cry.
I blundered on; the burly, hooded forms
Of gray ghosts going home
Shouldered me, and I was glad to hear my brook
Chuckle beneath the bridge, and see
My kitchen lantern shining out at last.

*MR. NEVINSON ARRIVES BY MOONLIGHT*

If I should say that I was very cold
Because another planet stared at me,
You'd call me mad; of course, I am not used
To moonlight—that is why I'm shivering.
There at the station, when I saw the moon
Peer at me over the mountain—I knew then
It wasn't healthy; is the landlord up?
That moon was at my elbow all the way—
I and my bag and the moon at my heels
Alone upon the highway; not a sound
Except the whip-poor-wills that chanted *whip*
Poor-will and *whip*-poor-will—those birds are mad;
They sit alone in pine-tops on the hills,
Their feathers caked with silver, and their souls
Blasted with moonlight; once I passed a field
Of timothy, shining like a misty lake
The moon had frozen—brrh! I shiver yet.
Beauty lays traps for men; I stumbled once
Into a forest clearing where the moon,
One pointing pine, and I were all the world;
I think I was a little mad, or why
Should I have felt so naked? I was Man,
I felt—despite my flannels and my bag—
Lord of the Earth; yet I was very cold
Because another planet stared at me.
Beauty lays traps for men; I am not Man;
My name is Nevinson—see, there's my card—
A salesman from Passaic; I'll be here
A week, I guess—unless that moon—yes, thanks,
Another drink would help—and now I'll go
To bed; I'm tired. Damn those whip-poor-wills.

*SUNDAY MORNING*

This is the Seventh Day;
Over the valley
We'll shake a chime.
That the sheep may browse and be blest,
Dust of dead priests' words we scatter;
Every cow . . .
Dong . . . dong
Shall walk more soberly.
This is the Seventh Day;
Blandly the secular winds
Blow over the valley.
This is the Seventh Day;
Faith shall hitch
A hundred buggies.
Paul to the Corinthians wrote . . . how the sun shines,
The waters flow . . . praise Him from whom . . .
Dong . . . dong
And every spear
Of timothy shall stand.
This is the Seventh Day;
We'll shake a chime
Over the valley.

*THE POOL*

I have come far for this cleansing;
Now I shall not hurry.
The city had tied a great stone
About my neck.
I drop it—so!
Now I can see the mountain.
I leave this soiled bundle of bitterness
In the reeds by the brink.
Now
I stand free and naked to the evening.
Harken, O Sun,
Staring so hard at me through the balsams—you who fuse
Earth, air, and water in a golden calm—
I am not strange,
I too am beautiful,
I have not forgotten
The way of a man with a brook.
Plunge!
See, O Sun,
The first man laughs among the fishes.

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# In the Driftway

THE Drifter sat upon the white, beaten sands of that twenty-five mile beach which forms the South Shore of Martha's Vineyard Island. Before him stretched the ocean, unbroken by land until Cape Haitien comes into view. At his feet the restless ground swell of the Atlantic was piling breaker upon breaker on the beach. In his ears was the slow, booming cadence of the relentless surf, and the deep-toned, incessant roar of wave upon sand. Down the beach was an old wreck tossed up by a blow these many years agone, her nose deep bedded in the sand, her powerful timbers stretched stark and impotent to the sky. Beyond the fifty feet of white water churned into foam, the world was blue with the depth of color that only those who go down to the sea know. The southeast gale stung one's face. The sun smiled benignly. The Drifter's interest in the racing toys of men off Sandy Hook began to wane. The gravity of Polish crises seemed dim and remote. Here was the sun and the wind and the sky and the magnificence of the restless, booming ocean. The affairs of men faded. The sea gods were good. Did anything else in the world really matter?

* * * * *

THEY are obviously called "Lost and Found" columns only in a spirit of false optimism, for it is almost never that anything is "found." The question is, who finds all the lost articles and refuses to advertise them? And what does he do with them? It is of course more than possible that they are not found at all but, as a result of their owner's carelessness or high living, that they simply sink into oblivion in some vast crater of Lost, Strayed, and Stolens. If this is so what a hideous conglomeration of things that somebody once cherished must be jostling and crowding each other. The housing shortage is undoubtedly most acute there as elsewhere, due in part to the great number of dropped stitches—another result of the war. And what does the "white Scotch female poodle dog," with "four legs and face clipped and freckles on stomach," do for his supper? It is plain that he cannot exist on a perpetual diet of bank books or summer furs or a "gentlemen's diamond ring set in white gold in the vicinity of Edgemere, L. I." Even a "diamond bug with thirty small diamonds set in platinum" and "emerald eyes" could not be very satisfactory to a hungry canine. There must be innumerable lost souls and shattered romances and broken campaign promises to get in each other's way incessantly, cooking their miserable meals of whatever scraps may be left in a semi-occasional lost dinner pail (and dinner pails are not now so fashionable as they once were) by the feeble lights of the candles that have gone out (and in the days of electricity these must be few and far between). There can be little to relieve the monotony of their confused existence except now and then when some Lost Leader can enjoy a quiet little snicker over an item in one of the morning papers that has been left in the subway begging that the gentleman "who by mistake exchanged valise with young lady on the N. Y. Central communicate with, etc." On the whole, being lost must be a melancholy fate. It were even better to be a candidate for the vice-presidency.

THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## No Injustice to Any One

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson warned our people to beware of our money system. "He who controls your money will control your people." I am past seventy years of age now and I have lived to see this country entirely governed by privileged corporations—a government of, for, and by the corporations. The voice of the people is flouted and ridiculed. It is now a government of and by force. "The people be damned" is the motto now, every right and privilege of the people have been denied them; the Government centralized; and the right of "free speech and free press" taken away; the right of assemblage broken up by brazen autocratic officials—agents of the privileged special interests; and history is now repeating itself. The warnings of Jefferson and the fathers of our Government are going to be heard and heeded, however. I have lived to see my country Prussianized under the guise of a "Democratic Administration." I have lived to see the money system of this Government prostituted to the aid and support of monopolists, trusts, and combines, who are exploiting the people. "For the law of the gods they have set up their own traditions." I note from press reports that Mr. Wilson asserts that "no injustice has been done any one under his Administration." I arise to a question of personal privilege. He and his Administration denied me the Constitutional right of freedom of speech, and it denied men the Constitutional right of the free use of the press. He nullified the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution when he and his Congress enacted the Conscription Law, the "Sedition Law," and the "Espionage Law."

Wilson and his Congress plunged us into a foreign war, of which he said himself, "We had nothing to do with starting." He and his Congress issued bonds and piled up a debt of more than thirty billion dollars against the people of this nation, which the laboring and producing people of the United States of America will be made to pay. My posterity will be virtually enslaved to bondholders for a hundred years. Yet, the man Wilson asserts: "My Administration did no injustice to any one."

*Midville, Georgia, July 29* H. L. SMITH

## Evolution with an "R"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Thank you for putting opposite to Bertrand Russell's article on the Bolsheviki, The Menace of Another War, with its significant comment that these same Bolsheviki were "the single liberal force in European diplomacy today." It is pertinent to ask if we cannot well trust to time, together with the sane, economic understanding and the broad constructive statesmanship of those who are directing Russian affairs, to bring order out of chaos in the domestic field of their activities. Apparently, Bertrand Russell, like so many of us, forgets that the Bolsheviki have not yet been in power three years, when he criticizes their accomplishments. He forgets, too, that revolution is simply evolution with an "r" prefixed, and that evolution takes time. Moreover, he fails properly to take into account the enormous size of Russia and its complex civilization, the previous rottenness of the government, the stupefaction during long years of a large part of the population by vodka. He forgets that this is a double revolution—political and economic, that it has been carried on coincidently with a stupendous war, and that no end of energy, man power, and money—almost since its inception—has been directed against counter-revolution after counter-revolution. And he practically ignores the blockade!

We have lied about Russia, we have aided her enemies, we have hated her, we have fought her, and we have starved her. Let us have done with it all, now, and let her alone.

*Boston, August 11* BLANCHE WATSON

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# Books

## Appraising the Peace Conference

*The Inside Story of the Peace Conference.* By Dr. E. J. Dillon. Harper and Brothers.

*The Peace in the Making.* By H. Wilson Harris. E. P. Dutton and Company.

*The Peace Conference Day by Day.* By Charles T. Thompson. With an Introductory Letter by Colonel E. M. House. Brentano's.

*Some Problems of the Peace Conference.* By Charles Homer Haskins and Robert Howard Lord. Harvard University Press.

*An Introduction to the Peace Treaties.* By Arthur Pearson Scott. Chicago University Press.

*The War Guilt and Peace Crime of the Entente Allies.* By Stewart E. Bruce. F. L. Searl and Company.

EACH of the above books is typical in its way of a kind of book of which we are likely to have many until the chief actors themselves speak out. There will be descriptions of what went on, or of what was said to have gone on, by observers who were close to the Peace Conference although not actually of it; partisan explanations and defenses by "experts" who were cogs in the mechanism; "first aid" handbooks for those who were not there but who want to know; and bitter arraignments of the whole proceeding by writers who neither fear Mr. Wilson nor regard M. Clemenceau. Then, when the men who really made the Treaty of Versailles shall have told their story—if they ever do—the critics will have a different task.

Dr. Dillon, the veteran correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, was admittedly preeminent among the correspondents whom the Peace Conference drew to Paris for his long and intimate acquaintance with European politics and public men. He had also the advantage of knowing well at first hand the countries and regions, especially the Balkans, Turkey, and Russia, which offered the most dangerous pitfalls to the negotiators. His "Inside Story," accordingly, is packed with incidents illustrative of the methods of the Conference, of the characteristics of the men who composed it, and of the influences, now open and now subterranean, which worked everywhere. Dr. Dillon does not write without bias. He obviously has little sympathy for the Bolsheviki, and his attitude toward Rumania and Poland is conservative and would be regarded by many as reactionary. On the other hand, his scathing indictment of the ignorance and inefficiency, the cynicism, the bad faith, and the remorseless pride of power of the Big Five and Four and Three is only equaled, but not excelled, by the now well-known criticism of Professor Keynes. The two books, indeed, supplement one another admirably, Dr. Dillon devoting himself almost wholly to the political side of the peace while Professor Keynes attacks its economic features. We permit ourselves only a single quotation, and that the closing paragraph of Dr. Dillon's final chapter:

"Whatever the tests one applies to the work of the Conference —ethical, social, or political—they reveal it as a factor eminently calculated to sap high interests, to weaken the moral nerve of the present generation, to fan the flames of national and racial hatred, to dig an abyss between the classes and the masses, and to throw open the sluice-gates to the inrush of the waves of anarchist internationalities. Truth, justice, equity, and liberty have been twisted and pressed into the service of economic-political boards. In the United States the people who prided themselves on their aloofness are already fighting over European interests. In Europe every nation's hand is raised against its neighbors, and every people's hand against its ruling class. Every government is making its policy subservient to the needs of the future war which is universally looked upon as an unavoidable outcome of the Versailles peace. Imperialism and militarism are striking roots in soil where they were hitherto unknown. In a word, Prussianism, instead of being destroyed, has been openly adopted by its ostensible enemies, and the huge sacrifices offered by the heroic armies of the foremost nations are being misused to give one half of the world just cause to rise up against the other half."

Mr. Harris, the accomplished correspondent of the London *Daily News*, also tells the story of what happened and why. His plan is less ambitious than that of Dr. Dillon, for he leaves out most of the historical summaries which are a valuable feature of Dr. Dillon's volume, and also tells fewer incidents. He was close to the British side of the proceedings, however, and knew only a little less intimately what France was doing. His account of the Prinkipo episode, for example, and of the apparently deliberate intermeddling of France to insure that the proposed conference should come to naught, should be read by anyone who still cherishes confidence in the good faith of the Paris negotiators. As to the general procedure at Paris, Mr. Harris is almost as severe a critic as is Dr. Dillon; but he has faith in the League of Nations, and pens a hopeful final chapter on the future of that organization.

Mr. Thompson, who is the superintendent of the Associated Press foreign service, was in Paris before the Conference met and stayed until the last gun was fired. As the subtitle indicates—"A Presidential Pilgrimage Leading to the Discovery of Europe"—the book is a sort of diary of events centering about the activities of Mr. Wilson. Here one may read all about how the President breakfasted, lunched, dined, attended receptions and official functions, and drove out; whom he saw, what was said, what he did, and what others thought about him before and after knowing him. One suspects that Mr. Thompson's easily-read pages owe a good deal to Colonel House, since even an Associated Press correspondent could hardly have known all the things that Mr. Thompson sets down without someone on the inside to tip him off. To only one part of Mr. Thompson's narrative do we take exception. At pages 406-415 appears an account of an extended interview on June 27 with the President, which from its form would naturally be interpreted as a conversation between the President and Mr. Wilson himself. As a matter of fact, it is a report of a meeting between Mr. Wilson and the American correspondents, held at Mr. Wilson's request at the Hotel Crillon, and attended by practically all of the American correspondents who were then in Paris.

The supporters of the treaty are, of course, entitled to their innings, and they get them in the volume of Professor Haskins and Professor Lord. Professor Haskins, who before the war was known to scholars chiefly as an authority on early Norman institutions, turned up at Paris as chief of the Division of Western Europe in the American delegation, and later served on the special committee of three which framed the treaty provisions regarding the Saar valley and Alsace-Lorraine. Professor Lord was the American expert on Poland. The volume now published is based upon a course of eight Lowell Institute lectures, four of them by Professor Haskins and four by Professor Lord. The historical, geographical, and ethnological information which the authors have assembled will doubtless be found useful. The point of view toward the Peace Conference and its work may be gathered from two quotations. Of the Treaty of Versailles Professor Haskins writes:

"The treaty of Versailles, like the other treaties drawn up at Paris, is by no means a perfect instrument. Those who took part in framing it would be the last to believe it verbally inspired. . . . But it represents an honest effort to secure a just and durable settlement, and neither the Conference in general nor the United States in particular need be ashamed of it."

Professor Lord, who admits that "of all the parts of the Versailles Peace Treaty, there is perhaps none which it required greater moral courage to make or which it may be more difficult to uphold than the Polish-German settlement," closes his chapter on Poland with a paragraph which in view of

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recent events reads today like something strangely remote:

"Nevertheless, the brilliant and original genius of the Polish people; their ardent and unsurpassed spirit of patriotism; the lessons which they may be presumed to have learned from their misfortunes; the reassuring evidence supplied by their conduct during these last two critical years—all this affords grounds for hope, not only that Poland has permanently recovered her independence, but that she is capable of becoming again what she was for so many centuries in the past: a bulwark of liberty, republicanism, and Western civilization in the troubled East of Europe."

Professor Scott, of the University of Chicago, has set himself the comparatively humble task of tracing briefly the diplomatic events and political discussions about the causes and aims of the war which led up to the Peace Conference, and of analyzing the Treaty of Versailles. The result is a volume which may be especially commended to students and teachers, and which should prove helpful to anyone who finds the text of the treaty hard reading. The author's attitude as a whole is friendly to the treaty, but on controverted questions he does not fail to present both sides. The general character of Mr. Bruce's book may be judged from its title. There is none that is not guilty; no, not one. For prevention thereof in the future, Mr. Bruce proposes certain far-reaching changes in the Constitution of the United States which will, he thinks, democratize that instrument.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

## Woman's Fine Frenzy

*Songs in the Common Chord.* By Amelia E. Barr. D. Appleton and Company.
*A Whisper of Fire.* By Agnes Ryan. The Four Seas Company.
*Wilderness Songs.* By Grace Hazard Conkling. Henry Holt and Company.
*Poems.* By Gladys Cromwell. With an Introduction by Padraic Colum. The Macmillan Company.
*The Hesitant Heart.* By Winifred Welles. B. W. Huebsch.
*The Coat Without a Seam, and Other Poems.* By Helen Gray Cone. E. P. Dutton and Company.
*Sixteen Dead Men, and Other Poems of Easter Week.* By Dora Sigerson Shorter. Mitchell Kennerley.
*Moods. Prose Poems.* By Mercedes de Acosta. Moffat, Yard and Company.
*Trolley Lines.* By Andrea Hofer Proudfoot. Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour.
*Diantha Goes the Primrose Way, and Other Verses.* By Adelaide Manola Hughes. Harper and Brothers.
*Dunch.* By Susan Miles. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.
*Hail, Man!* By Angela Morgan. John Lane Company.
*Bluestone. Lyrics.* By Marguerite Wilkinson. The Macmillan Company.
*Youth Riding.* By Mary Carolyn Davies. The Macmillan Company.
*A Woman of Thirty.* By Marjorie Allen Seiffert. Alfred A. Knopf.
*Pictures of the Floating World.* By Amy Lowell. The Macmillan Company.

UNIMPORTANT as it may seem to say so, the most obvious fact about poetry written by women always is that it has been written by women. Men sometimes write veritably like women—not simply like the creatures women by proverb are; but women always write like women—and never more so than when they are cultivating the great broad touch which by proverb is man's. This has been true at least since the later Caroline days in England, when there was an Aphra Behn as well as a Katherine Phillips; it is true now, when in the work of every group of poetesses brought casually together there are heard two plain strokes side by side—the gentle, perhaps too gentle, and the strong, perhaps too strong. Both are everlasting.

That the late Mrs. Barr was gentle would not in itself be proof, therefore, that she was old-fashioned—though she was old-fashioned. She frankly was content with fireside narrative and easy injunction, with good deeds and cheerful rhythms. Her rhythm occasionally cantered too fast, so that her cheeks flushed and her bonnet bobbed; but there always was a halt somewhere, with no real effect of a runaway. Agnes Ryan never is agitated, yet there is a trace of flutter about the spinsterly dignity with which she manages her commonplaces. She speaks for woman's most precious prerogative, to state true things without excess or stress—and if they are old, no matter. Mrs. Conkling also feels platitudes snugly and sweetly. Her cadences, like her attachments, are the generally accepted. Her mood and meter seem all too neat, with seldom a sign that their creation brought thrusts of pleasurable pain.

Gladys Cromwell left a volume of verse that is gentle with a difference. It is subdued, but only as Emily Dickinson sometimes was subdued, poignantly and profoundly. The work of a finely thoughtful woman whom the spectacle of sheer, naked cleverness and successfulness hurt, it represents feminine introspection almost at its best. Miss Cromwell took a melancholy pleasure in her processes, brooding softly and coolly over incapacities which her imagination invented, and reviewing a poetical past dreary with misconceived or neglected opportunities. Her poems convey a conviction of futility from which relief was to be sought only in reflection. Thought, as a thing possessed, was a little less precious than Love as a thing unpossessed; but it was very precious:

> Thought is fragrant like shining grass;
> It makes for our spirits a lonely mead;
> As animals taste the grass in shadow
> On pensive lawns, our spirits feed.

Winifred Welles, likewise, is feminine with a difference. She is tiny and sharp and shining, sleek and perfect, and very right. Her volume is full of felicity, like the body of a cat. Her quick, clean movements make for symmetry through something that looks like instinct; though it must have been nothing other than excellent discipline which achieved the almost uncanny economy in her better songs and soliloquies.

Among the poetesses in the larger mood, Helen Gray Cone, though palpably not the least ambitious, is destined least to survive the present hour for the reason that her ardors have been lighted at unsubstantial altars, those of the late war and the late peace. A poetess of the flag, she seems stale now as well as strident; the flimsy principles she celebrated have crumpled, and the resentments she shared are as dead as Pope's Dunces. Mrs. Shorter's last volume, also patriotic, supported a more picturesque cause, the cause of Ireland, but succeeded no better as poetry. Clan-righteousness in her case meant clan-prosiness; hatred of England filled her so full that there was no room left for art, and she could write:

> Sir Roger Casement, honored for his years
> Of stress and struggle, of fatigue and work.

The rest speak vigorously about themselves. Mercedes de Acosta, says Charles Hanson Towne in an introduction to some incontestably prose poems, "may go very far." She already is leagues beyond Don Marquis's Hermione, who appears a sensible and piquant creature compared with one who hushes you elaborately, not to say ominously, only to confide:

> I think it does not matter so much what we believe
> as what we *want* to believe.

Such things, continues Mr. Towne, "refuse to be catalogued and classified"; but they "have a haunting quality," and they "leave one with a sense of finality." If finality here means finality of departure, with never any return to haunt or please or perplex, Mr. Towne for once is as much as half right anyhow. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot exploits herself strenuously and polysyllabically in blocks of free verse which at least have hard corners. Her gushes of confidence are not as exciting as they were intended to be, but they are far from silly. Mrs. Hughes,

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through a series of nervous and facile monologues, raises a hue and cry over Mrs. Diantha's indiscretions with a lover. The irregular affair is treated rather regularly on the whole, with bustle and consecration and indecision and regret in the conventional proportions. Susan Miles, colloquial but seldom racy, offers a busily and somewhat shrewishly documented caricature of Dunch, a representative English village, with too many details too knowingly stuck in for poetry to be left much play. Angela Morgan, as the title she has chosen may indicate, is eagerly didactic. She evangelizes by tempestuous platitudes, ending her poems in whirlwinds of moral speculation.

A note of hill-wind wholesomeness and chaste carousal in the fulness of life is never absent from current verse. At times it is truly spirited; at other times it chirrups and is banal; but always some woman or group of women has it. Marguerite Wilkinson, for instance, has decided moral and metrical spring without conspicuous originality; though she is deeply touching here in Songs of an Empty House, on the childless state. Mary Carolyn Davies enjoys the use of a particularly blithe and intelligent voice. She works with a snapping energy of hand and eye that enables her always to finish without falling. She is cocksure, simple, and free, on tiptoe every minute to catch on an eager cheek whatever breezes blow. Marjorie Allen Seiffert is firmer and abler and more caustic, but perhaps no more effective. Her hits are hard and clean, her mind is muscular, she is invariably stunning; yet who can say that she would not gain by occasional lapses into listlessness and inefficiency? One respects her accomplishment oftener than he is willing to. Her figures, elaborate and excellent as they are, do not penetrate that core of the memory which lives on tranquilly and forever.

Miss Lowell's fifth volume, a miscellany of lyrics and occasional pieces gathered up out of the past five years, proves her still possessed of an energy and an activity which few poets or poetesses dream of, let alone possess. There still is nothing tentative or wistful about her manner; her nerves continue in excellent condition. The volume also makes clearer than before where her special province lies—in the stuffs, essentially, rather than the stuff, of nature and human nature. Miss Lowell is to poetry now what Terborch and Vermeer were to painting in the seventeenth century. She is a connoisseur of materials, of surfaces, of textures. She twitches the good, self-standing brocade of life with a firm and experienced hand, searching incessantly for strong, stiff, bright new words that may be adapted to her pattern. The flash of all of this is mostly on the outward eye, which sees silver and varnish and gold and jade and silk and agate and pewter and porcelain and marble in glittering succession. Then there are the colors which Miss Lowell cannot escape, and which she almost makes her mannerism—plum, orange, lemon-green, steel-blue, crocus, pink, rose-red, brick-red, cobalt, lapis lazuli, emerald, ocher, yellow-green, mauve, amber, jade, sardonyx, and opal. There also is the manifold luxury of hearing and feeling stuffs handled; there is folding, and quilting, and cutting, and slicing, and chipping, and splintering, and rustling, and crackling, and laying away. By rights so much surface should pall terribly; in fact, it palls only a little. Now and then the reader may sigh for a spell of smooth and equable ratiocination or narrative to interrupt this orgy of sensations; again he may crave details of shape and dimension and quality and character to thrust through and behind this play of planes; but in general he goes along willingly with Miss Lowell wherever she wishes to feel the industrious curl and movement of existence:

I want to be a carpenter,
To work all day long in clean wood,
Shaving it into little thin slivers
Which screw up into curls behind my plane;
Pounding square, black nails into white boards,
With the claws of my hammer glistening
Like the tongue of a snake.
I want to shingle a house,
Sitting on the ridge-pole in a bright breeze.
I want to put the shingles on neatly,
Taking great care that each is directly between two others.
I want my hands to have the tang of wood:
Spruce, Cedar, Cypress.
I want to draw a line on a board with a flat pencil,
And then saw along that line,
With the sweet-smelling sawdust piling up in a yellow heap at my feet.

M. V. D.

## Shakespeare Unidentified

*Shakespeare Identified.* By J. Thomas Looney. Frederick A. Stokes Company.

WITHOUT any systematic knowledge of Elizabethan life or literature, Mr. Looney became convinced that no good could come out of Stratford. In "Shakespeare Identified" he claims to have proved beyond reasonable doubt that all of Shakespeare and the best of Lyly were written by Edward De Vere, Earl of Oxford, who as early as 1580 was a patron of players, and who died in 1604, so that many of his best plays were acted and printed posthumously.

Doubt as to the validity of Mr. Looney's imposing collection of near evidence may be suggested by an examination of his method of procedure. Convinced by previous writers that Shakespeare was not the author of the plays, he sought in them the character of an author whom he concluded to be a lover of verse, of music, of sport, and so on. Being ignorant of the literature of the time, he was in doubt as to where he might find such a man until he hit upon the idea of searching an anthology for poems in the Venus and Adonis stanza. What he thought the best of such poems were by Edward De Vere, of whom he had never heard; and from this point progress was easy, for striking resemblances appeared everywhere. Being somewhat naive, Mr. Looney was not struck by the ease with which his guess received confirmation, and he seems never to have suspected that the qualities which he found common to De Vere and Shakespeare were simply Elizabethan. Both poets were interested in Italy, but so was every other literary Englishman; both expressed the fancy that love is often beguiled because Cupid is a blind child; and both (most wonderful of all) compared the contrasting colors in a woman's face to the lily and the damask rose.

Having established these remarkable facts, Mr. Looney investigated the life of De Vere, and found in the reproach attached to his name for Bohemian acquaintances a motive for concealing his dramatic authorship—though why he should have concealed Venus and Adonis and the Rape of Lucrece is not equally clear, for certainly non-dramatic poetry was reputable enough. Also, since the plays themselves express every shade of opinion and character, Mr. Looney found in them many things which seemed to fit De Vere, who, he says, like Bertram gratified with some difficulty his desire for travel, like Hamlet concealed his genius under assumed eccentricity, like Romeo had a wife of fourteen years, and like Othello distrusted her. Mr. Looney, in short, attributes to autobiography what belongs to previously existing story or to dramatic utterance.

That the investigator is not completely up in Shakespearean scholarship may be inferred from the fact of his stressing the assumption that Shakespeare permitted without protest the unauthorized publication of his plays, when Mr. Pollard has pretty well exploded the myth of a supineness before the pirates. But Mr. Looney's dominant fault is that his work is wholly inferential. However much we may be convinced that De Vere, had he been a genius, might have written such plays as Shakespeare's, there is no tangible fact to connect them with him. True it is that much which we say about Shakespeare is also pure assumption; but we do know, not only that such a man existed, but that there are some sixty references to him as author

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before 1604 with not one word of doubt concerning him. In such a case an ounce of contemporary evidence is worth a ton of subsequent speculation, and much as we should like to know more about Shakespeare it is hardly wise to substitute for an account which is 90 per cent inference one which is 100 per cent conjecture.

JOSEPH KRUTCH

## Documents pour Servir

*My Diaries: Being a Personal Record of Events, 1888-1914.* By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. London: Martin Secker. Volume I: 1919; Volume II: 1920.

THE successive instalments of Mr. Blunt's secret history of his own times, being regarded as "indiscreet," have been for the most part ignored by those great personages against whom damaging revelations have been made. In this new fifth part he tells the facts as he knows them about "the scramble for Africa" and "the coalition against Germany." He is courageous and outspoken, publishing private letters and records of confidential conversations. His apology for dealing with events so recent rests upon "the ungenerous terms imposed by the Allied Governments at Paris on their opponents vanquished in the war." Whatever may be thought of his personal loyalty to friends and associates (once the occasion of a sharp correspondence between himself and Frederick Harrison) there can be no question that his volumes have helped point the way toward the principle late enunciated of "open covenants openly arrived at." He is a sincere exponent of "pitiless publicity"; pitiless, indeed, toward those who knew no pity. His position is the more remarkable since taste and native gifts drew him toward poetry, wealth toward the life of a gifted amateur of arts and letters and travel, education and social position toward the point of view of the aristocracy which furnishes England with the governors whose policy and conduct he denounces.

The keynote of Mr. Blunt's Diaries is that of his entire career: his championship of oppressed nationalities and especially of the old civilizations of Asia and Northern Africa exploited so arrogantly as centers of trade by England and her continental rivals. The earlier portion of the work, dealing with Eastern and South African affairs during the nineties, is overshadowed in interest by the second volume. To his mind the great war was essentially an Eastern, not a Western, war; and he reviews the causes of the catastrophe frankly from the point of view of the Moslem world. England's increasingly obvious decision to repudiate her promises to evacuate Egypt carried with it the necessity to compensate France elsewhere. Of the secret deal with France with regard to Morocco Mr. Blunt heard so long ago as 1904. Grey's policy of constructing and consolidating the two Ententes required tacit consent on the part of England to Italy's raid upon Tripoli as a way of winning Italy from the Triple Alliance, and it required also connivance with Russia in her assault upon Persia. The acquiescence in the Tripoli adventure together with Grey's series of errors in dealing with Turkey, especially with regard to the Akabah affair and the Denshawi executions, drove Turkey into the arms of the Central Powers (thus prolonging the war when it came) at a time when the necessities of Germany's economic position called for the preservation of the independence of the Mohammedan states as a field for commercial expansion. Edward VII's influence had been a steadying one; but his death left the management of foreign policy exclusively in the hands of Grey, "whose ignorance of foreign affairs was really astonishing, knowing as he did no foreign language and having made hardly so much as a holiday tour of Europe." Consequently, from 1910 on the British Foreign Office executed a series of blunders which led logically to the war. Mr. Blunt has no liking for William II, "the Apostle of European violence," but he justifies the Emperor's resentment against England for her alliance with his two most dangerous enemies. "Our policy," he writes, "of helping the Russian Czar financially after his defeat by the Japanese, and so enabling the Czar to renew his military strength, seemed to Wilhelm a gratuitous menace as obliging him to increase his own army, while our Entente about Persia seemed a menace to the development of his commercial plans connected with the Bagdad railway. Nor, doubtless, was it unknown to him that Russia should be put in possession of Constantinople, and thus permanently block for Germany her trade route eastwards. All this, added to our support of France in Morocco, was resented at Berlin." Mr. Blunt feels that had there been an English statesman in control of affairs courageous enough to withdraw from these false positions, a few more years of peace might have been gained which would have given the socialistic forces of England and the western Continent time to gather strength and perhaps avert a general war. That those actually in power in England regarded war as inevitable and were planning accordingly is made abundantly clear by the Diaries. There are records of many important conversations on this subject (see especially volume II, pages 322, 381, 405, 409, and 416). Throughout the book there are repeated evidences of the growth in England of "those doctrines of supermanity and imperial selfishness which we have since ascribed to a German origin." The avowed reason for England's participation, the protection of Belgian neutrality, Mr. Blunt brushes perhaps too hastily and unphilosophically aside, and declares: "The real cause of the quarrel with Germany, I well knew, was no more honorable a one than that of our dread of a too powerful commercial rival and the fear of Kaiser Wilhelm's forcing France, if we stood aside, into commercial alliance with him against us in the markets of the world." With such a conviction Mr. Blunt refused to subscribe to the absurd false doctrine of "My country, right or wrong," and preserved during the war an attitude of severest abstention. His record of those years is reserved for posthumous publication should his literary executors deem such publication wise.

These thousand crowded pages are difficult reading if the main course of the argument is to be followed through the countless side-issues, social, literary, artistic, geographic, philosophical, religious. Had the material been sifted, rearranged, and rendered more compact, the result would have made for lucidity; but the loss would have been greater than the gain, because there would have vanished from the record an impression of sincere and spontaneous conviction. The preceding paragraph is no adequate epitome of the obscure and entangled political intrigues chronicled in the book; nor is it possible to give more than the barest indication of the vast amount of non-political material that it contains. Mr. Blunt knew and at one time cooperated with Herbert Spencer. He was in touch with A. R. Wallace and other scientists. His upbringing and sympathies drew him toward the modernist movement, and he held many conferences with Father Tyrrell, while one of the most moving episodes of the Diaries is the account of that heresiarch's death. He was on familiar terms with Frederic Harrison and the Positivists. George Wyndham was his cousin and most intimate friend; he was in almost as close contact with Winston Churchill. The world of letters beckoned him, and to him its doors were open. Of all the famous men he has known intimately he reckons William Morris intellectually the strongest. Such praise is the more impressive because of its infrequence in pages that contain pen-portraits reminding one of the etymological connection between the words "ink" and "caustic." Mr. Blunt's insight into character and his ability to depict it take the form, not of highly finished portraits such as one finds in Lord Morley's "Recollections," but of rapid sketches, confident and imaginative. Swinburne, "wasting his youth on drink and his old age on Theodore Watts"; Alfred Austin, "the most absurd little cock sparrow of a man"; Henley, having "the bodily horror of a dwarf" and "the dwarf malignity of tongue"; Meredith, with the secret trouble of his parentage which cast a shadow over his life; Asquith, evolving from the square-toed Puritan into the "gay dog" of London society; Balfour, hard, cruel, courageous, and cynical,

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his real mind being, according to "Margot" (Mrs. Asquith figures prominently in the Diaries), metaphysical and religious; Francis Thompson (who spent part of his last days in a cottage on Mr. Blunt's estate), "emaciated beyond credibility," taking six ounces of laudanum daily, and sitting for hours with "Martin Chuzzlewit" in his hand, held as often as not upside down; Sargent, so bored by his women sitters that every now and then he had to retire behind a screen to refresh himself by sticking his tongue out at them; King Edward, preferring the society of Jews and second-rate women to his dull aristocracy; Leo XIII, "nearly divine, if there was divinity anywhere to be found on earth," yet with something in his countenance suggestive of Voltaire: these and literally hundreds of other notabilities throng his pages in company with illustrious Moslems and Hindus. The mind and eye of the poet are discernible in the descriptions of desert life and curious expeditions, of shipwreck in the eastern Mediterranean and "groups under the dreaming garden trees" of Sussex. To the last the compassion which is the fundamental characteristic of this strange, noble, quixotic career—it is civilization's shame that such lives must be called quixotic—is visible as it was in boyhood when in the lid of a box containing some caterpillars he pricked holes in the form of the constellations, "so that the caterpillars inside might think they were still out of doors and could see the stars."

SAMUEL C. CHEW

## The Far East for Chambers of Commerce

*Have We a Far Eastern Policy?* By Charles H. Sherrill. Charles Scribner's Sons.

A LIGHT book this, written after some months of travel in the Orient by the former adjutant general of the State of New York, diplomatist, lawyer, and author of "Stained Glass Tours" in France, Italy, and England and of other books. He deals with the political and racial problems of the Pacific Ocean lands and America's interests in them. He is absorbed in trade, in expansion of United States capital, and in making safe the great sea of the Far East for a dominating but pleasant control by the industrial and financial leaders of our republic. He sees only the trade skin of the races involved. The only function of their body politic that interests him is barter. That there are other functions, and even organs, he is not aware.

He tours through Hawaii, Japan, China, and the Philippines, blithely touching on tourist attractions, naval bases, funny fruits, and national aspirations. He brings apt comparisons from the baseball diamond and golf links to point his arguments, but nowise burdens his readers with economic thought. The war is over, the world prepared for the commercial harvest of the victors, and time should not be wasted in false moves. Mr. Sherrill pleads for the retention of the Philippines and for an amicable relation with Japan so that business can speed. He deprecates harsh criticism of Japan, assuring us anyway that our forward-looking exporters "will before long exercise their influence as paying advertisers upon our newspapers so as to modify and ultimately to terminate their present unprofitable attacks upon everything Japanese."

Mr. Sherrill's work is as readable as a bright, cheered speech before a chamber of commerce by an enthusiastic expert in foreign trade. His chapters, if not already heard before such earnest bodies, will yield those who have not had the opportunity of even such limited observation ample material for talks and reports on our duties towards Asiatics and our need of hustling representatives, backed by a powerful navy, in the Orient. He writes of speaking at a "large banquet in Tokyo" where, the very while he drank his champagne, a mob was at the doors of the hall crying for rice. Only a mystical adherence to the supposed wishes of the Emperor—Son of God, as he is termed—tempers for the time the savage mood of a people maddened by the high cost of living, by the antics of a thousand war millionaires (*narrikins*), and by the Government's militaristic expenditures of blood and money in Siberia. The past two years—a few months of which Mr. Sherrill passed in Japan—have been the most dangerous to the imperial regime of Japan since the Shoguns gave over their power, so that conservative residents, both native and foreign, look for a successful revolutionary outburst within a year or two.

This book, though spirited enough, lacks verity of perception, and is typical of the thanks propaganda of foreigners who visit Japan and spend their time with hospitable officials. It is as if one sought to know the truth about America by visiting the White House, the Chief of Staff of our army, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the best hotel corridors.

FREDERICK O'BRIEN

## The Place of Science

*The Place of Science in Modern Civilization, and Other Essays.* By Thorstein Veblen. B. W. Huebsch.

THIS book is a treasure for those students of economic and social problems who are willing to put some effort into their thinking. Mr. Veblen is like the North from which he hales—abundantly, unexpectedly generous to the man who will sweat for his living; brutally indifferent to the one who expects the fruit of the gods to drop into his mouth. Reading him tightens the muscles and stiffens the intellectual spine. One comes away from him a bit bruised and panting but with a sense of power exerted and power achieved. It has been suggested that some one ought to rewrite Mr. Veblen, to put him into such flowing measures as would delight the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*. But then there would be no Mr. Veblen. We should be one step nearer to popular education, but scarcely nearer to the powerful joys of intelligence.

The three chapters on the Preconceptions of Economic Science are of especial value to the modern economist (or citizen) who has a suspicion that all is not well with the economic science which derives from the "classicals." Mr. Veblen works through the presuppositions underlying the economics of the Physiocrats, Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Cairnes, and Marshall, tracing the fortunes of the animistic metaphysics, the associational, hedonistic psychology, and the non-evolutionary approach that have in greater or less degree characterized them. He shows the increasing movement in other sciences toward a biological as over against a metaphysical psychology and predicts this development for economics. "All this, of course," he says, "is intended to convey no dispraise of the work done, nor in any way to disparage the theories which the passing generation of economists have elaborated, or the really great and admirable body of knowledge which they have brought under the hand of science; but only to indicate the direction in which the inquiry in its later phases—not always with full consciousness—is shifting as regards its categories and its point of view. . . . Foot-pounds, calories, geometrically progressive procreation, and doses of capital have not been supplanted by the equally uncouth denominations of habits, propensities, aptitudes, and conventions, nor does there seem to be any probability that they will be; but the discussion which continues to run in terms of the former class of concepts is in an increasing degree seeking support in concepts of the latter class.

The chapter on Some Neglected Points in the Theory of Socialism will be a delight even to the more casual reader because of its profound analysis of the "struggle for respectability" as the outgrowth of emulation in a society based upon private property, as well as because of its discussion of the "constitutional method applied to industry." To those who see no alternatives other than contract (competition) and status (bureaucracy), this chapter will be most illuminating. The book is a rich contribution to economic and social literature, and is, in a way, Mr. Veblen at his scientific best.

H. A. OVERS[illegible]

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## Books in Brief

HAPPY the critic who, like William Dean Howells in his charming Reminiscent Introduction to "The Great Modern American Stories" (Boni and Liveright), by the term "modern" can mean "contemporary with himself" and still deal with some half dozen decades of fruitful time. Of these twenty-four stories not a few first ascended into fame with the aid of the editorial hand which here resubmits them to posterity, and all of them delighted their great editor at some moment now luminously recollected. Mr. Howells admits that he should have preferred Aldrich's Marjorie Daw to Mademoiselle Zabriskie if the holders of the copyright had allowed him to use it; but otherwise he has been unhindered in his judgment. That judgment, as if in gentle contempt of the prevalent dogmas with regard to the short story, includes tales as extended and rounded as Henry James's A Passionate Pilgrim and sketches as brief as Landon R. Dashiell's Aunt Sanna Terry and George Ade's Effie Whittlesy, or as innocent of orthodox narrative as A Prodigal in Tahiti by Charles Warren Stoddard, exquisite neglected genius. The expected names are all represented here except that of Howells himself, whose modesty, though it was sure to do so, ought not to have excluded something of his own—The Magic of a Voice, perhaps, or, The Angel of the Lord. Harriet Prescott Spofford, Henry B. Fuller, Edith Wyatt, Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gilman, Madelene Yale Wynn, Virginia Tracy, if not quite so confidently expected, abundantly make good their claims to be in this company, none of them more so than Mrs. Gilman, whose The Yellow Wall Paper is appallingly effective. Sophisticated comedy will hardly go further than in Edith Wharton's The Mission of Jane, or blithe whimsicality than in Frank R. Stockton's The Christmas Wreck, or eerie suggestion and hideous disappointment than in Ambrose Bierce's The Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge. No anthology, of course, is final; a dozen other candidates for this volume will occur to any reader at all expert; but if editing can be as nearly classical as writing, this collection may have to be called a classic.

AS the music of the spheres was attuned to a key too vast and too divine to hit the sense of human hearing, so the larger processes of nature, by their overwhelming magnitude and sublimity, escape the perception of the average mind. But the sage and hero who, like Scipio, catches the lost chords in his dreams, can transpose a few of them to a mode audible and intelligible to the rest of us. Viscount Bryce, the Montesquieu and the Burke of the present generation, has one of those rare minds that no pertinent fact, in the chosen field of study, escapes because of its minuteness nor oppresses because of its magnitude. His recent Raleigh lecture before the British Academy on "World History" (Oxford University Press), notwithstanding its brevity, grasps the immense subject with high philosophical insight. The distinctive characteristic of world history, he shows, as over against national or departmental history, is not the mere largeness of the former, but the selection, by him who would profitably treat it, of some special and definite line of interest, common to the civilized races and transcending national and racial barriers. Such a thread, and the most conspicuous in the earlier centuries, was religion. Through Christianity, through Islam, one increasing and (on the whole) unifying purpose runs: a catholicism that in the long run overmatches the sectarianism of national and individual dissent. A like unification is achieved, or aimed at, by the spiritual quality of common ideals, especially as expressed in art, literature, and science. Even now the republic of letters is an international state, and a catholic communion of its initiates. Community of interests, whether economic, as expressed in commerce, or ideal, as voiced in international socialism, are powerful welding forces. Thus it is that the historian of the world finds the Ariadne thread of truth guiding him through the labyrinth of detail, in

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"an account of the process and the forces whereby races, tribes, nations, and states have been, or are being, drawn together into one common life commensurate with the earth which they inhabit." The process is almost complete. League of Nations or not, the World-state is a fact; in it we live and move and have our being. Our very breakfasts come from Brazil and from Java, from Argentine and Canada; our newspapers report items of yesterday gathered from the rising to the setting sun. Our intellectual life is nourished by the art and science of a score of races. Amidst our civil wars and petty prejudices it is hard for us to realize our good fortune in this blessed consummation. But our children will do it better than we.

THAT like causes produce like results, in history as in physics, is the thesis of Gilbert Murray in his comparison of "Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks" (Thomas Seltzer). In the Peloponnesian War Sparta was cast for the part of Germany, as a land power and a military aristocracy, whereas Athens, a free democracy and a naval power, might stand for England. Once the two were at grips every other power in Hellas was drawn into the conflict on one side or the other. The internal condition of Athens can be intimately known, not only from the historians but from the dramas of Aristophanes, almost all of them having been concerned with contemporary life. There was a plague at Athens; there was great scarcity both of food and of fuel, so that the villain in one of the comedies is he who threatens to murder a sack of charcoal. All the young men were away, throwing the conduct of affairs so much into the hands of the women that three of the eleven extant comedies deal with feminism. There was also a "peace by negotiation" party, headed by Nicias, and a "last-ditch" party, commanded by Cleon, whose policy "became more and more repulsive to decent men." It is remarkable that whereas Nicias might be Asquith or Lansdowne or Grey or any one of half a dozen other British statesmen, almost all that is said about Cleon fits Lloyd George. One more similarity in the atmospheres of the two wars which the author characterizes as "profoundly pathetic, if not actually disquieting," was that "the more the cities of Greece were ruined by the havoc of war, the more the lives of men and women were poisoned by the fear and hate and suspicion which it engendered, the more was Athens haunted by shining dreams of the future reconstruction of human life, a great dream city in which the desolate and oppressed come by their own again, where rich and poor, man and woman, Athenian and Spartan, are all equal and at peace." The dream failed; Hellas was ruined; while in the West arose the great Republic of Rome to take up the burden of civilization. Is Europe ruined to the same extent now? According to the poet-scholar of Oxford, not beyond hope of recovery. The promised land will not always be a mirage.

AFTER pleading with his countrymen in vain for thirty-five years to take an intelligent interest in their theater and to make it a place of wise amusement instead of a child's toy-shop and the playground of licentious tomfoolery, Henry Arthur Jones turns his attention in "Patriotism and Popular Education" (Dutton) to a plea for the right kind of education for the masses. Since the masses must always be exploited, the interests of the state require that they be taught their place in the world, together with the mastery of the necessary but disagreeable crafts which are to supply us with food, clothing, furniture, and houses. Mr. Jones, as a patriotic Englishman, has strong convictions on a large variety of subjects, from household management to international relations; and as an experienced writer he can express himself vigorously in from two to a dozen ways, can produce many interesting, many wise, many suggestive, many amusing, and many provoking paragraphs. But if one is looking for help in dealing with either educational problems or the problems of state, he will find many smaller books much more helpful.


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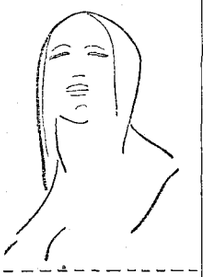

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# International Relations Section

## More Notes to Russia

THE reply of the British Government to the note of July 24 from the Soviet Government of Russia, printed in the last issue of the International Relations Section, was dispatched in the form of two notes. The first, dated July 26, reads as follows:

The British Government is glad to learn that the Soviet Government has authorized the military command of the Soviet armies to negotiate an immediate armistice with the Polish military command, and that they are prepared to agree to a conference meeting in London for the purpose of establishing a definite agreement between Russia and the Powers which were engaging in hostile actions against her or supporting such action.

They note that the Soviet Government further proposes that the representatives of the leading Powers of the Entente should attend this conference, and they are communicating with their Allies on this subject. Meanwhile they would suggest that Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin should be authorized by the Soviet Government not merely to conclude the trade agreement between Russia and the Allied Governments but also to discuss preliminary arrangements for the proposed peace conference, because communications by cable will involve delay and possible misunderstanding.

In reply to the latter part of the telegram, the British Government would point out that no trade agreement, even if completed, could have produced practical results if Soviet Russia had refused an armistice and invaded Poland, and had thus forced Great Britain and her Allies to give active support to the Polish people in defending their liberties and independence. They, therefore, thought it best to stop Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin from making a journey which would be fruitless if no armistice were arranged.

In view, however, of the present reply, they have instructed the destroyer to bring Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin to England immediately, or, if they prefer another route, the British Government will ask the governments concerned to facilitate their journey.

As regards General Wrangel, the British Government must declare that General Wrangel is not, as the Soviet Government have suggested, their agent, or in any way under their control. Nor have they had any responsibility for the recent offensive, while the suggestion that the British Government have any such designs with regard to the Crimea as the Soviet authorities appear to imagine is absurd. They have, however, communicated to General Wrangel the terms of the Russian Government's declaration.

The second note is dated July 28, that is, after the meeting between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand at Boulogne. The text follows:

British Government having consulted its Allies is now in a position to send following reply to Chicherin's telegram of July 24:

The British Government which, on the assumption that an armistice is about to be concluded and that hostilities are about to cease between Soviet Russia and Poland, is proposing to its Allies that they should take part in a conference to be held in London at which the Soviet Government of Russia will also be represented, considers that no doubt should be left as to the object of the meeting, as to the Powers which are to be summoned to attend it, or as to the essential subjects which it is to discuss.

The two last telegrams from the Soviet Government leave some doubt upon these points. The telegram of July 19 seems to reject the participation of the Allies in the negotiations for peace between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government and other neighboring governments of Russia. The last telegram, on the other hand, seems to admit this participation.

The British Government considers that, if the Allied Governments are to meet the delegates of the Soviet Government with any chance of success, the delegates of the Polish Government, and of the other border states who are concerned, must also be present.

The conference should have as its essential object the reestablishment of peace in Europe, and in the first place between Poland and Russia, upon conditions which would secure the independence of Poland and the legitimate interests of both countries.

The conference shall also consider the questions which are still outstanding between Soviet Russia and the border states which have not yet signed a definite peace with Russia.

After the settlement of these questions the conference could proceed to deal with the matters in dispute between the Government of Soviet Russia and the Allies, and the reestablishment of normal relations between them.

## The Proposed Convention with Haiti

THE Fuller Convention, submitted to the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs on May 22, 1915, by Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr., Envoy Extraordinary of the United States to Haiti, read as follows, the preliminary and concluding paragraphs being omitted:

1. The Government of the United States of America will protect the Republic of Haiti from outside attack and from the aggression of any foreign Power, and to that end will employ such forces of the army and navy of the United States as may be necessary.

2. The Government of the United States of America will aid the Government of Haiti to suppress insurrection from within and will give effective support by the employment of the armed forces of the United States army and navy to the extent needed.

3. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants that no rights, privileges, or facilities of any description whatsoever will be granted, sold, leased, or otherwise accorded directly or indirectly by the Government of Haiti concerning the occupation or use of the Mole Saint-Nicolas to any foreign government or to a national or the nationals of any other foreign government.

4. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants that within six months from the signing of this convention, the Government will enter into an arbitration agreement for the settlement of such claims as American citizens or other foreigners may have against the Government of Haiti, such arbitration agreement to provide for the equal treatment of all foreigners to the end that the people of Haiti may have the benefit of competition between the nationals of all countries.

## The Haitian Counter-Project

THE counter-project of the Haitian Government, of June 4, 1915, with such of the modifications suggested by Mr. Fuller as the Haitian Government was willing to accept, read as follows:

I. The Government of the United States of America will lend

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its assistance to the Republic of Haiti for the preservation of its independence. For that purpose it agrees to intervene to prevent the intrusion of any Power and to repulse any act of aggression against the Republic of Haiti. To that end it will employ such forces of the army and navy of the United States as may be necessary.

II. The Government of the United States will facilitate the entry into Haiti of sufficient capital to assure the full economic development of that country, and to improve, within the immediate future, its financial situation, especially to bring about the unification of its debt in such fashion as to reduce the customs guaranties now required, and to lead to a fundamental money reform.

In order to give such capital all desirable guaranties the Government of Haiti agrees to employ in the customs service only officials whose ability and character are well known, and to replace those who in practice are found not to fill these conditions.

The Government of Haiti will also assure the protection of capital and in general of all foreign interests by the organization of a mounted rural constabulary trained in the most modern methods.

In the meantime if it be necessary the Government of the United States, after consultation with the Government of Haiti, will give its aid in the repression of serious disorders or troubles which might compromise these foreign interests.

The American forces which have in the given circumstances cooperated with the Haitian troops in the restoration of order, should be retired from Haitian territory at the first request of the constitutional authority.

III. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants that no rights, privileges, or facilities of any description whatsoever will be granted, sold, leased, or otherwise accorded directly or indirectly by the Government of Haiti concerning the occupation or use of the Mole Saint-Nicolas to any foreign government or to a national or the nationals of any other foreign government.

IV. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants within six months of the signing of this convention to sign a convention of arbitration with the Powers concerned for the settlement of the diplomatic claims pending, which arbitration convention will provide for the equal treatment of all claimants, no special privileges being granted to any of them.

V. In case of difficulties regarding the interpretation of the clauses of the present convention, the high contracting parties agree to submit the difference to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

Mr. Fuller had suggested a further modification which the Haitian Government refused. It changed the final paragraph of Article II to read: "The American forces which have in the given circumstance cooperated with the Haitian troops, shall, when order has been reestablished, be retired," etc. His other suggestions were accepted with unimportant verbal changes.

## The Haitian-United States Convention

THE convention between the United States and Haiti was ratified on September 16, 1915, after the occupation of the country by American troops. In its final form it is in interesting contrast with the suggested agreements printed above.

The United States and the Republic of Haiti, desiring to confirm and strengthen the amity existing between them by the most cordial cooperation in measures for their common advantage, and the Republic of Haiti desiring to remedy the present condition of its revenues and finances, to maintain the tranquillity of the Republic, to carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of the Republic and its people, and the United States being in full sympathy with all of these aims and objects and desiring to contribute in all proper ways to their accomplishment;

The United States and the Republic of Haiti have resolved to conclude a convention with these objects in view, and have appointed for that purpose plenipotentiaries:

The President of the Republic of Haiti, Mr. Louis Borno, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction,

The President of the United States, Mr. Robert Beale Davis, Jr., Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America;

Who, having exhibited to each other their respective powers, which are seen to be full in good and true form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I. The Government of the United States will, by its good offices, aid the Haitian Government in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis.

ARTICLE II. The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a General Receiver and such aids and employees as may be necessary, who shall collect, receive, and apply all customs duties on imports and exports accruing at the several customs-houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti.

The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a Financial Adviser who shall be an officer attached to the Ministry of Finance, to give effect to whose proposals and labors the Minister will lend efficient aid. The Financial Adviser shall devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, inquire into the validity of the debts of the Republic, enlighten both governments with reference to all eventual debts, recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and make such other recommendations to the Minister of Finance as may be deemed necessary for the welfare and prosperity of Haiti.

ARTICLE III. The Government of the Republic of Haiti will provide by law or appropriate decrees for the payment of all customs duties to the General Receiver, and will extend to the Receivership, and to the Financial Adviser, all needful aid and full protection in the execution of the powers conferred and duties imposed herein; and the United States on its part will extend like aid and protection.

ARTICLE IV. Upon the appointment of the Financial Adviser, the Government of the Republic of Haiti in cooperation with the Financial Adviser, shall collate, classify, arrange, and make full statement of all the debts of the Republic, the amounts, character, maturity, and condition thereof, and the interest accruing and the sinking fund requisite to their final discharge.

ARTICLE V. All sums collected and received by the General Receiver shall be applied, first to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants, and employees and expenses of the Receivership, including the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, which salaries will be determined by the previous agreement; second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti; and third, to the maintenance of the constabulary referred to in Article X, and then the remainder to the Haitian Government for the purposes of current expenses.

In making these applications the General Receiver will proceed to pay salaries and allowances monthly and expenses as they arise, and on the first of each calendar month will set aside in a separate fund the quantum of the collections and receipts of the previous month.

ARTICLE VI. The expenses of the Receivership, including salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants, and employees, and the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, shall not exceed 5 per cent of the collections and re-

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ceipts from customs duties, unless by agreement by the two governments.

ARTICLE VII. The General Receiver shall make monthly reports of all collections, receipts, and disbursements to the appropriate officers of the Republic of Haiti and to the Department of State of the United States, which reports shall be open to inspection and verification at all times by the appropriate authorities of each of the said governments.

ARTICLE VIII. The Republic of Haiti shall not increase its public debt, except by previous agreement with the President of the United States, and shall not contract any debt or assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the Republic available for that purpose, after defraying the expenses of the Government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt.

ARTICLE IX. The Republic of Haiti will not, without the assent of the President of the United States, modify the customs duties in a manner to reduce the revenues therefrom; and in order that the revenues of the Republic may be adequate to meet the public debt and the expenses of the Government, to preserve tranquillity, and to promote material prosperity, the Republic of Haiti will cooperate with the Financial Adviser in his recommendations for improvement in the methods of collecting and disbursing the revenues and for new sources of needed income.

ARTICLE X. The Haitian Government obligates itself, for the preservation of domestic peace, the security of individual rights, and the full observance of the provisions of this treaty, to create without delay an efficient constabulary, urban and rural, composed of native Haitians. This constabulary shall be organized and officered by Americans appointed by the President of Haiti, upon nomination by the President of the United States. The Haitian Government shall clothe these officers with the proper and necessary authority and uphold them in the performance of their functions. These officers will be replaced by Haitians as they, by examination conducted under direction of a board to be selected by the senior American officer of this constabulary in the presence of a representative of the Haitian Government, are found to be qualified to assume such duties. The constabulary herein provided for shall, under the direction of the Haitian Government, have supervision and control of arms and ammunition, military supplies and traffic therein, throughout the country. The high contracting parties agree that the stipulations in this article are necessary to prevent factional strife and disturbances.

ARTICLE XI. The Government of Haiti agrees not to surrender any of the territory of the Republic of Haiti by sale, lease, or otherwise, or jurisdiction over such territory, to any foreign government or Power, nor to enter into any treaty or contract with any foreign Power or Powers that will impair or tend to impair the independence of Haiti.

ARTICLE XII. The Haitian Government agrees to execute with the United States a protocol for the settlement, by arbitration or otherwise, of all pending pecuniary claims of foreign corporations, companies, citizens, or subjects against Haiti.

ARTICLE XIII. The Republic of Haiti, being desirous to further the development of its natural resources, agrees to undertake and execute such measures as, in the opinion of the high contracting parties, may be necessary for the sanitation and public improvement of the Republic under the supervision and direction of an engineer or engineers, to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon nomination of the President of the United States, and authorized for that purpose by the Government of Haiti.

ARTICLE XIV. The high contracting parties shall have authority to take such steps as may be necessary to insure the complete attainment of any of the objects comprehended in this treaty; and should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

ARTICLE XV. The present treaty shall be approved and ratified by the high contracting parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the City of Washington as soon as may be possible.

ARTICLE XVI. The present treaty shall remain in full force and virtue for the term of ten years, to be counted from the day of exchange of ratifications, and further for another term of ten years if, for specific reasons presented by either of the high contracting parties, the purpose of this treaty has not been fully accomplished.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate, in the English and French languages, and have thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Port-au-Prince (Haiti), the 16th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen.

ROBERT BEALE DAVIS, JR.,
Chargé d'Affaires of the United States
LOUIS BORNO,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
and Public Instruction

## The New Constitution of Haiti

THE new Constitution of the Republic of Haiti, ratified under the American Occupation, altered the former Constitution in regard to the important subject of the right of foreigners to hold land. Article 6 of the old Constitution reads:

> No one, unless he is a Haitian, may be a holder of land in Haiti, regardless of what his title may be, nor acquire any real estate.

Article 5 of the Constitution of 1918 makes the following provision:

> The right to hold property is given to foreigners residing in Haiti, and to societies formed by foreigners, for dwelling purposes and for agricultural, commercial, industrial, or educational enterprises. This right shall be discontinued five years after the foreigner shall have ceased to reside in the country, or when the activities of these companies shall have ceased.

## The Haitian President's Proclamation

IN the *Moniteur*, official organ of the Republic of Haiti, for September 4, 1915, in a column headed "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," the president of Haiti published a proclamation on the situation arising from the occupation by American troops of the customs-house at Port-au-Prince.

Haitians! At the very moment when the Government, engaged in negotiations to settle the question of the presence of American military forces on Haitian territory, was looking forward to a prompt solution in accordance with law and justice, it finds itself faced with the simple seizure of possession of the customs administration of the capital.

Previously the customs-houses of several other cities of the republic had been occupied in like fashion, and whenever the news of such occupation reached the National Palace or the Department of Finances, it was followed by an energetic protest, demanding that the diplomatic representative of the American Government residing at Port-au-Prince restore the customs-houses and put an end to acts so contrary to the relations at present existing between the Government of Haiti and the Government of the United States of North America.

Haitians! In bringing these facts officially to the attention of the country, I owe it to myself to declare further, in the most

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formal fashion, to you and to the entire civilized world, that the order to carry out these acts so destructive of the interests, rights, and sovereignty of the Haitian people is not due to anything which can be cited against the patriotism, devotion, spirit of sacrifice, and loyalty of those to whom the destinies of the country have been intrusted. You are the judges of that.

Nor will I conceal the fact that my astonishment is greater because the negotiations, which had been undertaken in the hope of an agreement upon the basis of propositions presented by the American Government itself, after having passed through the ordinary phases of diplomatic discussion, with frankness and courtesy on both sides, have now been relieved of the only obstacles which had hitherto appeared to stand in their way.

Haitians! In this agonizing situation, more than tragic for every truly Haitian soul, the Government, which intends to preserve full national sovereignty, will be able to maintain the necessary resolution only if all are united in exercising their intelligence and energy with it in the present task of saving the nation. . . .

SUDRE DARTIGUENAVE

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